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WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

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Fascist Tendencies in the United States

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

FASCISM, in its semi-developed American forms, is now beginning to loom up as a real danger in the United States. This is a matter of grave concern, not only for the American revolutionary movement but also for the whole Communist International. For a serious advance of fascism in the United States would stimulate fascism in all capitalist countries and would gravely accentuate the danger of war against the U.S.S.R.

The immediate cause of the growth of American fascist tendencies is the inability of the capitalists to overcome the prolonged crisis and the present special type of depression. The capitalists have been quite unable to restore industry to a "prosperity" basis. Both the Hoover and Roosevelt governments have poured out billions of dollars "to prime the industrial pump", but industry stubbornly lags far below 1929 levels and farming remains in a profound crisis.

The deep and protracted economic crisis is rapidly sharpening all the inherent contradictions of capitalism in the United States, including antagonisms (a) between the working class and the capitalist class; (b) between the urban petty bourgeoisie and the capitalists; (c) between the farmers and the capitalists; (d) between various groups within the ranks of the monopoly bourgeoisie itself; (e) between the decisive part of finance capital and groups of the bourgeoisie representing local and state interests (silver, cotton, tobacco, etc.); (f) between the U.S. and other imperialist and colonial countries; (g) between the bourgeois world and the U.S.S.R.

These sharpening contradictions are intensifying the American struggle on every front. They are narrowing the social basis of the bourgeoisie by bringing it into conflict with growing millions of workers, farmers and city petty bourgeoisie. Thus the big capitalists are finding it more and more difficult to rule by their traditional methods of parliamentary democracy, concessions to the labor aristocracy, international diplomacy, etc. Consequently their most decisive section, finance capital, in order to re-establish its narrowing social base, is being compelled to strengthen its offensive against the masses by policies which tend in the direction of fascism.

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THE RADICALIZATION OF THE MASSES

The most decisive facts in gradually pushing monopoly capital towards a fascist course are its settled policy of thrusting the burden of the crisis upon the workers and other toiling masses and its fear of their growing resistance which it realizes is a serious threat to the bourgeois dictatorship.

With crassest brutality, the big capitalists have compelled the toiling masses to bear the brunt of the economic breakdown. Although they have greatly increased their own profits (the National City Bank reports that 1,453 companies with a deficit of $97,000,000 in 1932 made profits of $1,051,000,000 in 1934), they have forced the masses of workers and small farmers down to an unheard of pauperization. Living standards have fallen catastrophically and continue to decline. From twelve to fifteen million workers remain unemployed. Great multitudes of farmers and small businessmen have been utterly bankrupted and this process continues. About 22,000,000 toilers and their families are eking out a miserable existence upon the niggardly government relief, and at least one-third of the whole American people have been reduced to standards that mean not only hunger and misery, but actual physical degeneration.

But the toiling masses have not submitted to this monstrous pauperization without resistance. On the contrary, the United States for the past three years has been a scene of intense and increasing class battles, both economic and political.

Among these struggles are: the most intense wave of strikes in American history; a broad struggle of the unemployed for unemployment insurance and relief; strikes and other struggles of the poorer farmers against low farm prices and monopoly control; a wide and insistent movement among war veterans for the soldiers' bonus; a strong agitation among the Negro masses for equality; big anti-war strikes and other demonstrations among students; an extensive movement of the aged for government pensions; struggles of the petty bourgeoisie against trustification and high taxes; wide radicalization among intellectuals, etc.

Never were the masses so stirred. They are conducting their struggles with unparalleled tenacity and bitterness. They are awakening politically and manifestly beginning to shed their capitalistic illusions. They are starting to think, however confusedly, in terms of revolution. The U.S.S.R. gains in popularity among them. The trade unions have grown and strengthened their position in industry. A new spirit of unity and militancy grows on all sides.

In this rising wave of struggle the Communist Party is playing a considerable and an increasing role. Although our Party has only about 30,000 members, its influence extends over many times this

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number. Upon various occasions it has been able, despite its many palpable weaknesses and failures, to utilize its opportunities, to lead, wholly or partially, very important struggles. Examples of the growing extent of its influence are: (a) Communists and their united front allies led the big maritime general strike on the Pacific Coast in 1934, out of which grew the great San Francisco general strike; (b) the Party has so successfully popularized its Unemployment Insurance Bill that it has been directly supported by at least a couple of million workers; (c) in New York City, where the Party has 8,000 members, it staged a demonstration of 200,000 on May First, 1935; (d) our Young Communist League comrades were prominent leaders in the recent united front youth conference at which there were represented 1,300,000. These are, of course, the very best examples of our Party's work in leading the mass movement; but they serve to give an idea of the growing influence and possibilities of our Party, especially in those situations where it is able to overcome its traditional sectarianism and militantly to carry through the united front policy.

THE FASCIST DANGER

The bourgeoisie are amazed and shocked by their inability to overcome the economic crisis and the multiplying political difficulties growing out of it. They are alarmed at the rapid radicalization of the workers, the rising tide of struggle, the growing strength and influence of the Communist Party. In years past, especially during the "prosperity" period of 1923-29, the capitalists had confidently assured themselves that the workers were hopelessly poisoned with bourgeois illusions; and, as during the first three years of the crisis, the workers, misled and demoralized by their trade union and Socialist leaders, took blow after blow without resistance, the capitalists hypocritically gloated over them, praising them for their patriotism, good sense and courage in accepting the crisis burdens placed upon them.

But now these same capitalists are astonished and alarmed to see the great American working class beginning to arouse itself and to go into battle with real militancy and solidarity. Such a situation interferes badly with the capitalists' plans further to slash living standards and to keep the whole weight of the crisis on the toilers' shoulders. So they are proceeding to try to crush the growing struggle by developing a demagogy and violence which takes on more and more of a fascist character.

The history of the American class struggle is full of violence against the workers; indeed, prior to the World War, in no country, except tsarist Russia, was there such a record of bloody and hard-fought strikes as in the United States. But never was the violence

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against the workers so extensive as during the past three years. In scores of strikes and other struggles there has been an extreme use made of troops, police, murderous gangs of vigilantes, etc., against the toilers in struggle. This reached a high pitch in the San Francisco general strike, when the greatest mobilization of armed forces in American labor history took place. In line with this use of violence against the workers are the facts that, as never before, the industries are infested with strikebreaking arbitration boards and the legislative bodies of the country are cluttered with bills calling for the outlawing of the Communist Party, undermining of the trade unions, etc.

In sum, the capitalists in the United States are developing a growing political reaction in order to combat the developing class consciousness and struggle of the toilers. And among the most decisive section of the bourgeoisie, finance capital, this political reaction tends to develop definitely in the direction of fascism.

FASCIST TENDENCIES

What we have to deal with in the United States is not a well-defined fascist movement, but a series of more or less definite tendencies making towards fascism. These tendencies range from quite conscious fascist groups to movements which, while not definitely fascist, nevertheless create favorable conditions for the growth of fascism.

Let us begin with the Roosevelt government. Today this government is increasingly under fire from the most reactionary groups of monopoly capital, which are the main source of fascist tendencies and organizers of the fascist movement; because these elements, in first line, resent Roosevelt's trade union policy which they hold responsible for the many strikes. The liquidation of the N.R.A. means the victory of the most reactionary elements which demand the most unmerciful and open offensive against the working class. This victory strengthened the position of the fascist group among the monopolist capitalists. The most reactionary group of finance capital consider the N.R.A. has exhausted its benefits for them. But for the first two years of his term they gave Roosevelt substantial support. And despite Roosevelt's liberal trends, phrases and demagogic promises (and of the group of finance capitalists which he represents) there are tendencies also in his policies which give direct stimulus to fascist growth. Among these tendencies are: strengthening of finance capital through trustification, support of economic nationalism, increased war preparations, reductions of living standards of the masses, encouragement of company unionism, extensive use of legal and extra legal violence against the workers and farmers, discrediting of parliamentary government and popularization of the notion of a one-man savior of the country, pouring out a flood of demagogy

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about the "forgotten man", etc. And it is significant to note that the Roosevelt industrial code policies (the N.R.A.) originated in the United States Chamber of Commerce (organ of finance capital) and were hailed by many of their supporters as first steps towards a fascist corporate state in the United States.

But the main stream of fascist development is at present to be found in a series of other more or less definitely fascist or semi-fascist demagogues, groupings and organizations of extended mass influence. Among these are:

The American Liberty League group of capitalist ultra-reactionaries, headed by Herbert Hoover and Al. Smith. This powerful organization supported by Dupont, General Motors and other big capitalist concerns, has in its ranks many large Wall Street financial interests that are actively propagating fascist tendencies.

The American Legion. The leadership of this strongest of the war veterans' organizations (769,908 members), is saturated with fascist spirit and constantly carries on violent anti-red agitation.

W. R. Hearst, America's greatest newspaper publisher. He is a crony of Hitler and prosecutes a rabid anti-Communist, anti-Soviet campaign through his vast chain of publications with several million readers, especially among the city petty bourgeoisie and more backward workers. With huge personal resources and powerful financial capitalist support, he tends to become the main center of the growing fascist agitation. He has big influence among the leadership of the American Federation of Labor and American Legion and he maintains working relations with the Righ-wing leaders of the S.P.

Father Coughlin, a Catholic priest. He speaks weekly over the radio to millions of listeners and claims (doubtlessly exaggerated) a definite membership of 200,000 and a following of five millions in the National Union for Social Justice. A powerful and dangerous demagogue, he specializes in pseudo-attacks upon the great bankers and violent assaults upon the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. His cure-all is inflation and his motto is "shoot the Communists". He has a huge influence among the farmers, city petty bourgeoisie and Catholic immigrant workers and is credited with having defeated Roosevelt in the latter's attempt to affiliate the United States to the World Court of the League of Nations.

Huey Long, U. S. Senator from Louisiana. This semi-fascist demagogue has a dictatorship in his own State, such as no other American State has ever before seen. His demagogic program is to expropriate partially the great capitalists and to "share-the-wealth", giving everybody an income of $5,000 yearly. He has behind him a nebulous organization of "share-the-wealth" clubs, with fabulous membership claims. He has a broad mass following throughout the South among the impoverished small farmers and workers. His popularity nationally is growing and he nourished presidential ambitions.

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Matthew Woll, Major Berry and some other top leaders of the American Federation of Labor, who form a definitely reactionary clique. They are allied with various semi-fascist groups and, doubtless, as the fascist movement develops they will play a leading role in it.

Besides the foregoing, there are many more popular ultra-reactionary demagogues whose agitation goes to feed the growing fascist stream: such as General Johnson, first chief of the N.R.A.; Raymond Moley, former head of Roosevelt's "Brain Trust"; Hamilton Fish, wealthy New York Congressman; Bernarr MacFadden, rich magazine publisher, etc.

Then there are various fascist and semi-fascist organizations of vague membership, but growing influence. Some of these, such as the Crusaders, Ku Klux Klan, Order of '76, Silver Shirts, Grey Shirts and many others with ambitious would-be Hitlers and Mussolinis at their heads, are made up chiefly of native American elements. Others, such as the Friends of New Germany and similar organizations among the Italians, Poles, Bulgarians, Jugoslavs, etc., are more definitely fascist and are working energetically among their respective nationalities.

Besides all these fascist, semi-fascist and part-fascist tendencies and groupings, there have sprung up like mushrooms several broad mass bourgeois reformist movements, such as Sinclair's "Epic", Townsend's old age pension movement, the Utopians, etc. While the leaders of these organizations cannot be classed as fascists or even semi-fascists, undoubtedly their demagogic programs, denunciations of Communists, etc., create favorable conditions for fascist agitators.

The many fascist and semi-fascist demagogues and organizations penetrating the masses constitute a real menace. Vast numbers of the hungry, confused and politically unorganized and inexperienced masses, seeking a way out of their intolerable situation, are falling victims to the increasing flood of reactionary and fascist demagogy. These masses consist not only of the urban petty bourgeoisie and farmers, but also workers. No reliable statistics or other clear indications are yet at hand to show to what extent this specifically American fascist agitation has penetrated the masses, but that it has made such headway is manifest. The Communist Party is making considerable progress in winning the masses, but the fascist, semi-fascists and other reactionary capitalist demagogues are going much faster. They are undoubtedly establishing a broad mass base; the plain lesson of which is that we Communists must double and treble our united front fight against fascism.

The rapid growth of fascist tendencies in the United States emphasizes what a great error it is to suppose that there can be no

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real danger from fascism unless there is a far advanced revolutionary crisis or unless the country is one of those defeated or semi-defeated in the war.

THE PRESENT PROGRAM OF FASCISM

The finance capitalist character of American fascism is plain. Many of the most outstanding fascists and semi-fascist demagogues, such as Hearst, MacFadden and Fish, are wealthy capitalists themselves and linked up with the most powerful financial interests in America and the others, such as Coughlin, Long, Woll, Johnson, etc., have had their big capitalist connections fully exposed. Also the recent Dickstein Congressional Committee (a very reactionary body) was compelled reluctantly to show that big New York banking interests are permeated with fascist sentiments and that some of them had actually planned a mass march upon Washington, to be led by General Smedley Butler. Wall Street is clearly the home address of American fascism.

The present-day activities of the fascist and semi-fascist agitators and groupings conform to the interests of finance capital. It is true that the American fascist trend, as I have already indicated, is unorganized and not fully defined. Its status is one of confused ideas and loose organizations. Often the fascist tendencies are contradictory and antagonistic to each other. These contradictions reflect the conflicts with the bourgeoisie itself. They indicate that the bulk of monopoly capital has not fully embarked on the road to fascism as the only way out of its increasing difficulties. Nevertheless, there is a gradual process of coming closer together and clarification of fascist aims going on. Out of the welter of fascist and semi-fascist tendencies the following propositions, which dovetail generally with finance capitalist interests, may be taken as the immediate, actual program of the incipient American fascism.

a. A gigantic campaign of demagogy to hoodwink the toiling masses in order to prevent them developing programs, organizations and struggles of their own. Outstanding features of this demagogy are: sharp verbal attacks on the trusts and "Wall Street", and the "international bankers"; programs of inflation; "share-the-wealth"; "soak the rich" tax measures; unemployed "self-help" schemes, fantastic old age pensions; illusory "security" programs; utopian plans to abolish poverty; ridiculing of parliamentary government; vague talk of "a new social order", etc.

b. Behind this barrage of radical demagogy, however, the fascists and semi-fascists pursue actual policies that result in direct or indirect support of the big bourgeoisie's program of wage-slashing, strikebreaking, company unionism, trustification, hostile labor legislation.

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c. In general, they also display an intense economic and political nationalism, exemplified by intransigeant support of all the major objectives of American imperialism, including increased war preparations, high tariffs, collection of war debts, conquest of foreign markets, hostility to the League of Nations, etc.

d. The growth of fascist sentiments is marked by an increased use of violence against the masses in struggle, not only of troops and police, but also of vigilante groups, lynch mobs, etc.

e. Violent attacks upon the Communist Party and attempts to illegalize it or wreck it by violence.

f. Violent slander campaign against the Soviet Union.

g. Intensification of prejudices against Negroes, Jews and foreign-born.

h. Cultivation of sectional chauvinism—Long's stimulation of anti-Northern prejudice in the South, which is still smarting from its defeat in the Civil War; and Coughlin's incitement of the agricultural West against the industrial East.

i. General cultural reaction, including intense cultivation of religion, reactionary trends in literature and science, and censorship of motion pictures, radio and theatre.

SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICAN FASCISM

American fascism develops under its own special forms and slogans. It is vitally necessary that our Party study these specific characteristics, their hidden and masked forms and maneuvers. This, however, it has not yet done adequately. It has not sufficiently analyzed the process of American fascization as a whole, especially to evaluate those features that are peculiarly American. Consequently, a number of wrong tendencies have developed in our fight against fascism, which the Central Committee strives to overcome. Among these are:

a. A tendency in our mass agitation to separate the question of fascism from that of the general employers' offensive against wages, hours, working conditions, etc.; that is, to make of fascism only an anti-red issue, instead of a broad class issue. Such a tendency, if continued, would lead to the isolation of the Party from the masses and make impossible a broad united front fight against fascism.

b. A tendency to concentrate attention upon Italian and German types of fascism in the United States, instead of upon the special forms, because of different objective conditions, that fascism as a mass movement is assuming in America. This tendency fails to see the really dangerous section of the fascist movement, the specifically American expressions of fascism.

c. A tendency to class definitely as fascism all forms of bourgeoisie reaction, including such movements as Sinclair's, Townsend's,

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etc., and also to apply the term "fascist" indiscriminately to reactionary and reformistic trade union leaders and organizations. This tendency would concede to the fascists valuable forces that we can readily win for struggle against fascism.

We must correct these theoretical weaknesses at once. We must look closely to the special features of American fascism; it is not enough to know the trend of fascism in general. Therefore, in the following pages I shall discuss four specific phases of American fascism. These are the questions of the tempo of fascist development, the central fascist slogans, the fascization of the State, and the organization of a fascist party.

1. *The Question of the Tempo of American Fascist Development.* A major specific feature of fascism, or semi-fascism, in the United States is its rapid tempo of development; that is, its appearance as a mass movement at a relatively earlier period in the class struggle than fascism occurred in either Italy and Germany. In those countries when fascism assumed mass form the revolutionary crisis was far developed and the bourgeoisie faced a menacing threat of imminent proletarian revolution. But fascism, in its American forms, is developing on a mass basis in the United States under much less acute conditions of class struggle. Although in the United States the economic and political difficulties of the bourgeoisie are great and the class struggle is being rapidly intensified and while the American capitalists are viewing with great alarm the stubborn economic crisis, the radicalization of the masses, the growing wave of struggle, the strengthening of the hated and feared Communist Party and the revolutionary example of the Soviet Union, they nevertheless do not yet possess the mortal fear of impending revolution to the extent that the Italian and German bourgeoisie did, nor the Spanish or Austrian capitalist classes.

The American imperialist bourgeoisie are gradually seizing upon fascist methods more for the purpose of intensifying their drive to reduce the present living standards of the toiling masses and break their growing resistance. It is chiefly in this sense that they are seeking to confuse the masses, isolate and destroy the Communist Party, weaken the trade unions, prevent the organization of a Labor Party, etc. But more and more, also, they are coming to look upon fascism as the Italian, German, Spanish and other bourgeoisie do, as the only way to save them from proletarian revolution.

This growth of the American incipient fascism at a relatively earlier stage in the class struggle is to be explained chiefly by the following facts, taken in connection with the rapid sharpening of the economic and political situation.

a. Fascist demagogy and violence dovetails readily with the traditional ultra-ruthlessness of the American capitalist class in exploiting

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the toiling masses and repressing them politically; as evidenced by its long-time policies of extreme use of the police, army and gunmen in strikes; suppression of trade unionism and establishment of open shop and company unionism in the most basic sectors of American industry; brutal suppression of the Negro people; brutal herding and murderous exploitation of the foreign-born workers; refusal to set up even an elementary system of social insurance; crass methods to keep the toilers mobilized in the two capitalized parties; ruthless elimination of the small business men and farmers; cynical corruption of elections, government officials, etc. A capitalist class historically guilty of such barbarities, in its hour of real need turns easily to fascism for still more ruthless measures to maintain its rulership and exploitation.

b. American monopoly capital tends to adopt more readily fascist methods of demagogy and terrorism also because it is definitely conscious of the lack of a great, solidly entrenched reformist party on the model of German Social-Democracy or the British Labor Party to paralyze the workers' resistance. To meet this deficiency in their situation of sharpening class struggle the bourgeoisie displays two tendencies: some sections of it favor the development of the American Federation of Labor unions, but its more decisive sections, noting the radicalization of the workers in the American Federation of Labor, the great wave of strikes (which they blame on Roosevelt) and the growing united front movement, tend to move more towards developing the mass basis of the bourgeoisie on fascist and semi-fascist lines.

c. Another important factor in pushing American big capitalism toward a fascist course is the fact that they have learned many lessons from Germany, or believe they have. They saw Hitler easily wreck the German political and trade union organizations and thus hamstring the working class. So, increasing numbers of them are coming to believe that his policies can be profitably used against the workers in the United States. Nor are they going to wait until they are confronted with a great revolutionary crisis. They are, so to speak, trying "to take time by the forelock" and by the early application of fascist methods throw the working class helpless before their exploitation and nip the revolution in the bud.

An important result of the fast tempo of American fascist development, that is, its appearance as a mass movement at a relatively earlier stage in the class struggle, is to put a stamp of immaturity upon the entire fascist movement. This immaturity, which masks and makes more insidious the whole approach of American fascism, is evidenced by its theoretical and organizational incompleteness, such as, conflicting groupings, failure to develop more than embryonic theories of the corporate state (the N.R.A.), failure to build up a

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separate fascist party, to develop a well-organized youth movement, to organize storm troops, etc.

These manifestations do not mean, however, that American fascism has limited objectives; that it will not develop beyond a sort of half-fascism. On the contrary, American fascism already indicates that, like German, Italian, and other types of fascism, it is striving towards a fascist dictatorship, with all that this implies. Its specific features indicate simply that what we have in the United States is an undeveloped fascism, which, although adapted to the present stage of the class struggle and already playing an important role in sharpening the employers' offensive, has not yet fully developed its program and organization. As the class struggle sharpens, however, American fascism will mature with it.

The present immature state of American fascism and its important role in the employers' offensive make it all the more necessary for our Party to understand the special forms the movement takes, and to link the fight against it closely with the everyday struggle of the workers. The main immediate fascist danger lies not in a victory of the ready-made mature types of fascist programs and organizations dogmatically patterned after fascist Germany or Italy or Poland, but in the raw, scattering and immature native American fascist growth, trends and tendencies, such as in the Hearst, Coughlin and Long movements.

2. *The Question of the Central Fascist Slogan.* The second important specific characteristic of American fascist tendencies which I shall comment upon is the most general slogan, which sums up the demagogy of Hearst, Long, Coughlin, Woll, etc. This slogan is, "Against Communism, Against Fascism, For American Democracy."

This openly capitalistic slogan reflects the still backward state politically of the American working class. Hitler and Mussolini, confronting rapidly developing political crises and powerful revolutionary movements, each found it necessary, in order to camouflage their true aims, to put out fake slogans of socialism and revolution. But the American fascists and semi-fascists, sensing at this time no such deep revolutionary movement among the masses and knowing that the latter are still afflicted with many capitalistic illusions, believe their capitalistic slogan can fool them as well as the petty bourgeois masses. But when, with an intensification of the class struggle and a further revolutionizing of the masses, the fascists feel the necessity for more radical or pseudo-revolutionary slogans, even with a Communist ring to them, we may be assured that they will put them forth.

Now let us analyze this central fascist slogan, "Against Communism, Against Fascism, For American Democracy", in which the

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program of this menacing movement is compactly expressed.

a. The "Against Communism" phrase of the slogan indicates that the fascists and part-fascists see in the Communist Party their chief enemy. It also shows they have no fear of the Socialist Party and that they realize the bourgeois character of the American Federation of Labor top leadership. Under this slogan the fascists and near-fascists of all stripes and degrees wage a fierce attack against the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. Every sign of aggressive struggle by the masses is labeled the work of Communists, and fought relentlessly. The main purpose of this is to isolate the Communist Party from the masses by frightening the latter with the "Red scare", so that the Communist Party may be outlawed or destroyed and the toiling masses be left without revolutionary leadership in the sharpening struggle.

b. The "Against Fascism" section of the slogan is an evidence of the disrepute into which fascism has fallen among the American masses, especially since the advent of Hitler in Germany. Such demagogues as Hearst and Coughlin are in reality apologists for Hitler and Mussolini, and their opposition to fascism is either in words only or upon minor phases of it. Nevertheless, the mass resentment against fascism compels them demagogically to disavow it openly by name in their main slogan. The chief implication from this maneuver, however, is to emphasize the insidious danger of American fascism developing under new names and slogans.

c. The "For American Democracy" part of the central fascist slogan indicates the path by which the fascists are trying to ensnare the masses in their nationalist-chauvinist demagogy. It expresses their attempt to harness the revolutionary and democratic traditions and aspirations of the American toiling masses to the chariot of American imperialism for the establishment of a fascist dictatorship.

Although the main body of the American proletariat and other toiling masses have historically not looked beyond the framework of capitalism for emancipation, they have nevertheless accumulated a great tradition of struggles, aspirations and illusions about a greater freedom and a better life. These traditions play a profound role in their present-day outlook upon the class struggle and their activities in it.

Among such mass traditions are: the revolutionary struggle of the war of 1776, in which the American republic was founded and when the poor farmers and workers provided the main fighting troops and the revolutionary spirit; the Civil War of 1861 with its breaking of the power of the great Southern landlords and the formal liberation of three million Negro slaves; ringing utterances of the bourgeois revolutionaries, Paine, Henry, Jefferson, Lincoln, Douglas, etc.; the pre-Civil War slave revolts and the upsurge of the Negro

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people in the reconstruction period; the pioneering epic of the great West, with its rough democracy based on free land, small homesteads, and the absence of strongly centralized government; the hopes of the millions of immigrants who, for generations, poured into New York from all over the world, hypnotized by the lure of America, "the magic land of freedom and opportunity"; the broad mass bourgeois democratic illusions, based on the existence of extensive formal democratic rights and fictitious legal equality; the widespread capitalist prosperity illusions, created by the free land, the rapid industrial expansion, the higher living standards and the passage of large numbers of workers into the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie and some even into the big bourgeoisie; the hundred years of trade union struggle, often becoming armed conflicts, for elementary rights and better living conditions; many years of struggle by various revolutionary organizations, especially among the masses of foreign-born workers, large numbers of whom had a Socialist background in Europe; the three generations of persistent struggle by the small farmers and petty bourgeoisie against the encroaching trusts and the "Wall Street money power", etc.

The ideologists of American capitalism have always been skillful to utilize these mass revolutionary and democratic traditions and illusions for the enslavement of the toilers. Their Daughters of the American Revolution, special guardian of revolutionary traditions, is the most reactionary of all organizations; the bourgeoisie have made a capitalist saint out of the abolitionist rebel, John Brown, who was hanged by the government; they build schools as monuments to the labor traitor, Samuel Gompers; they sedulously cultivate every capitalist democratic and prosperity illusions afflicting the masses; they twist the toilers' love of the homeland into a blatant patriotism; they fought the great war under the pretext of making the world safe for democracy.

But the new fascist demagogues far outdo these older ideologists of capitalism. Under their slogan, "For American Democracy", with brazen effrontery and in a framework of rabid nationalist chauvinism they grossly distort the mass traditions and twist them into a violent defense of the very tyranny they were developed against. With the power of the press, the radio and the pulpit behind them, these demagogues bring themselves forward as the continuers and spokesmen of the great traditions and aspirations of the masses. They present their crude "share-the-wealth" and similar demagogy and their sham fight against monopoly capital as the logical outcome and extension of the historical struggles of the toiling masses.

With chauvinistic fury the fascist demagogues picture the barbarous rule of finance capital, their fetish "American Democracy" as the very summing up of all the traditions and hopes of the toiling

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masses; as a sort of God-given social order, the very essence of freedom, one which stands superior to all classes, which is above criticism and which must be militantly defended, not only against the machinations of "Wall Street" and against the "greedy foreign countries" that are ready to pounce upon "good-natured", "altruistic", "defenseless" America, but above all against that arch-enemy of American democracy, of the people, of progress and of civilization, the Communist Party. Thus, with themselves once recognized as the champions of the masses' traditions and demands, and with the people shot through with a rabid nationalism, fascist demagogues hope to deflect the masses' fight away from their true enemy, the capitalists, and to carry through finance capital's growing program of hunger, terrorism, fascism and war.

The central fascist slogan, "Against Communism, Against Fascism, For American Democracy", also, with different stress on its component parts, sums up the attitude of the liberals. It emphasizes the left-handed alliance between incipient American fascism and liberalism. The American liberals are always on hand to help lead every reactionary step of capitalism. It was the liberal Wilson who dragged the American people into the World War; it was the liberal (and Socialist) officials who took the lead in cultivating the intense capitalistic illusions and class collaboration of the trade unions during the Coolidge properity period; it was the liberals who made up the reactionary Roosevelt "Brain Trust" and logically enough, many liberals are now placing the stamp of "Progressivism" upon some of the worst forms of semi-fascist demagogy.

3. *The Question of the Fascization of the State.* Another specific characteristic of incipient American fascism to be remarked is its concentration upon the fascization of the existing state. It is true that there is a growing agitation against parliamentary government, the Congress being widely ridiculed as an impotent body of babblers and the President's demand for more power in the crisis being willingly conceded; but still there is little talk, except among the smaller, more dogmatic and sectarian fascist tendencies, of abolishing the present form of government and establishing a corporate or totalitarian state.

This is chiefly because: (a) the structure of the American government, with huge powers in the hands of the President and the Supreme Court, lends itself readily to the development of a fascist dictatorship; and (b) the government is now almost completely in the hands of big capital and the upper bourgeoisie; there being no important Social-Democratic, Communist, or militant trade union representatives for the fascists to contend with in utilizing the government for their purposes.

But because permeation of the present state apparatus is now the

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main political path of fascism, it does not follow that the fascists plan to pursue a legal road to power or to maintain the existing form of government. On the contrary, the vigilante terrorist gangs of the San Francisco general strike, the Wall Street planned march upon Washington, etc., should teach us that the fascists will use every form of violence, including, if they think it practical, a coup d'etat, in their fight for power. And their present crassly expressed anti-democratic tendencies are enough proof that should the fascists and semi-fascists secure the power they would find even the present undemocratic form of government too democratic for them and would supplant it by a state form leading towards a fascist dictatorship.

4. *The Question of a Separate Fascist Party.* It is another specific characteristic of incipient American fascism that the fascists and semi-fascists have not formed a party of their own, but are affiliated to the two old capitalist parties. The main reason for this is that the masses of workers, city petty bourgeoisie and farmers still follow these two parties and the fascists find it necessary to work where these masses are. Furthermore, the decentralized character of these parties makes it relatively easy for fascist or semi-fascist demagogues to seize sections of them to use as their political organization. There is no maze of minority political parties struggling for control as in Italy and Germany, paralyzing the legislative branch of the government, and offering a plausible pretext for organizing a fascist party to supplant all the others.

But the danger of the fascist tendencies forming a separate party becomes more and more imminent. Under the blows of the crisis and the consequent sharpening of class antagonisms, the traditional two-party system is now undergoing a great strain. It will face a severe test in the national elections of 1936. If the monopolist capitalists become convinced that they can no longer hold the masses of toilers under the hegemony of the old parties (either by a conservative Republican ticket, or a "Left" demagogic Roosevelt program) they will probably have their fascist and semi-fascist demagogues (who can count on the support of such trade union leaders as Woll, Green and Lewis) either take the initiative in launching a semi-fascist party in order to canalize the toilers' rising discontent into counter-revolutionary channels; or, they will have these part-fascist agents go along with the toilers' mass breakaway movement from the old parties to try to capture or demoralize the new party from within.

THE PEOPLE'S UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern correctly laid great stress upon the creation of a broad united front of workers and all other toilers against the fascist danger as the main immediate task

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of the international revolutionary movement. This policy applies with decisive force in the United States. There is urgent need for such a broad people's front against fascism and war, and awakening masses are at hand out of which to form it. Politically, the united front should take the form of a mass toilers' party, to bring into struggle the anti-fascist forces of the proletariat, the poorer farmers and the lower city petty bourgeoisie.

The reason why the anti-fascist united front must take the form of such a new mass party in the United States is because the American workers, petty bourgeoisie and small farmers have not yet broken with the bourgeois parties and formed a mass party, or parties, of their own, which could serve as the basis of such a united front of several parties as there is in France. In fact, the new mass party must be the crystallization of the historically necessary mass breakaway from the two capitalist parties.

The main cause why the American working class has not yet broken from the capitalist parties and formed a separate political party is the fact that the bourgeois revolution in the United States accorded the workers a relatively high degree of formal democratic rights, thereby sowing among them many capitalistic illusions. Consequently, they were not conscious (as, for example, the workers of Germany, Austria, etc.) of a program of burning immediate political issues (right to vote, to organize, etc.) around which a mass party could be built. Their grievances, mostly over wages, hours, etc., loomed up to them chiefly as economic questions. Many other factors, such as relatively higher wage levels, free government land over a long period, the presence of a broad labor aristocracy, etc., also contributed to checking the class consciousness and political organization of the working class, but the question of democratic rights was the fundamental cause why the American workers formed no mass political party of their own and fought out the class struggle historically almost entirely on the economic field.

The city petty bourgeoisie, like the working class, has never been able to form its own party, although it has displayed much political activity, as evidenced by such movements as the Bryan campaigns, the Roosevelt Bull Moose campaign of 1912, the support of Roosevelt in 1932, etc. The explanation why the petty bourgeoisie has not differentiated itself politically from the two old parties is to be found, among other factors, in the fact that although considerable sections of it were being constantly crushed by the advance of the trusts, other and larger sections, the so-called "new" petty bourgeoisie in new and luxury industries, large numbers of people with petty bourgeois ideology (doctors, lawyers, technicians, chain-store managers, etc.) were being created by the industrial expansion. This fact tended

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strongly to produce illusions among the petty bourgeoisie that it had common general political interests with the big capitalists.

The farmers have displayed much political activity. Confronted by sharp problems arising out of the intensely capitalistic character of American agriculture, they have conducted many organized political struggles, including such movements as the Greenback Party, Populist Party, Non-Partisan League, the Farm Bloc, many State Farmer-Labor Parties, etc. The chief reasons why they have not been able to break definitely with the two capitalist parties are (a) because of the widespread system of small land holdings, fed for many decades by free government land, the basic question of the ownership of the land had not become sufficiently acute, and (b) because the decentralized nature of the two capitalist parties made it possible for the farmers to utilize these organizations to elect many representatives in the agricultural districts—an important reason also why the workers formed no separate mass party.

But the long, deep economic crisis has greatly politicalized the proletariat, the lower city petty bourgeoisie and the poorer farmers by throwing these masses increasingly into an intolerable pauperization. As for the workers, faced by huge mass unemployment, wage slashes and attacks upon their unions, they have developed a whole series of burning political and economic demands, chief among which are: unemployment insurance, unemployment relief, government works, 30-hour week, government seizure and operation of closed factories, government recognition of the right to organize, old age pensions, abolition of child labor, against the sales tax and the high cost of living, against fascism and war, etc. These political and economic demands have the support of millions of workers. Thus, for the first time in American history, there is in the minds of great masses of workers a series of urgent political demands, providing a sufficient basis upon which to organize a mass party. And for the first time also a broad wave of revolutionary sentiment, confused but militant, is developing in the ranks of the proletariat.

Among the lower city petty bourgeoisie a rapid process of radicalization is also going on The crisis has bankrupted vast numbers of them, the "new" petty bourgeoisie as well as the "old", forcing them down into the ranks of the workers and into the bread lines of the unemployed. Consequently, they are raising most urgent political demands against trustification, against the growing tax burden, for home owners' relief, for relief for impoverished professionals, against war preparations, against the curtailment of civil rights, etc.

The radicalization process also goes on very fast among the lower strata of farmers who are being pauperized by the prolonged agricultural crisis. These farmers are enraged against the high prices they have to pay for what they buy and the low prices they get for

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what they sell, against the staggering tax burden, against the usurous grip of the banks and mortgage holders. And, most important, the basic question of the redistribution of the land becomes an urgent issue among them by the rapid spread of share-cropping and tenantry and by the seizure of the land by hundreds of thousands of farmers for mortgage debts, and non-payment of taxes.

Besides the political awakening of the foregoing classes, the Negro people, pressed heaviest of all by the crisis, and increasingly demanding equal rights in all fields; the student youth are developing broad movements against war, the suppression of academic freedom and their generally hopeless economic perspectives; the war veterans are fighting for the soldier bonus; the elder generation are demanding pensions, etc

In short, the toiling masses of the United States are in sharp and growing ferment. The political basis thus exists for a broad coalition party of the workers, the lower petty bourgeoisie and poorer farmers. These masses are losing hope of security relief either through a material improvement of the economic crisis, or through the activities of the old parties. Increasingly, they are showing a determination to break away from the two capitalist parties. This is evidenced by rapid growth of labor party sentiment among the trade unions, Socialist Party and petty bourgeois intellectuals; by the formation of the Progressive Party in Wisconsin, the strengthening of the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota, etc.

Evidently a great party of the toiling masses is struggling to be born in the United States. But such a party cannot come into existence spontaneously; it can only emerge as a result of sharp struggle. For, as I have already indicated, the capitalists and their fascist agents will make a determined effort, by radical demagogy, to prevent a mass break from the old parties and the formation of a fighting toilers' party, and, if this fails, they will then either try to canalize the revolting masses into a semi-fascist third party, or seek to demoralize the new party from within.

The task of leading the fight for the establishment of the new anti-fascist party falls largely upon the young Communist Party, and it is one that will require all its Bolshevik understanding, skill and strength. But it is in the carrying out of this task that the Communist Party will find its broad path to increased strength and mass prestige as the vanguard of the proletariat.

THE ANTI-FASCIST MASS PARTY

The new mass party should constitute a great united front of the toiling masses against finance capital's program of hunger, fascism and war. It may be called the Workers' and Farmers' Party, as Comrade Dimitroff suggests, or the Farmer-Labor Party, although

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it will probably have different names in various localities. The name Farmer-Labor Party has much prestige among the trade unions and farmers' organizations.

The anti-fascist mass party should be based on the trade unions and should include farmers' organizations, the Communist Party, Socialist Party, state Farmer-Labor Parties, veterans' organizations, working women's organizations, workers' and farmers' cooperatives, workers' fraternal societies, tenants' leagues, anti-war societies, groups of intellectuals, etc It should pay especial attention to winning the youth, without whose ardent support victory over fascism is quite impossible, and whom the fascists and semi-fascists are now trying hard to capture. The Party should also exert all efforts to win the Negro and foreign-born, especially the Germans, Italians, Poles and Jews. These groups, who number many millions, will be greatly stimulated to anti-fascist struggle by the fascists' anti-Negro, anti-Jew and anti-foreign-born agitation.

The new mass party of toilers should also strive to include sections of the sprouting fascist or partly fascist organizations and tendencies; such as company unions, American Legion posts, and groups of the Coughlin and Long movements, etc. It should also pay special attention to winning the masses in the demagogic Sinclair, Townsend and similar movements. These groups are loosely organized and undisciplined, and many can be easily won over. It would be a great mistake to simply lump all these groupings together and concede them to the fascists.

The party program should be based upon the every-day demands and struggles of the masses, and the party should be the political united front expression of these struggles. It must oppose the fascists' anti-civil rights and government centralizing tendencies by demands for limiting the powers of the President and Supreme Court, giving Negroes the right to vote, abolition of head tax and other voting qualifications, free right to place candidates on the ballot, etc. It must also raise the demand for a united front government upon the basis of the united front anti-fascist program.

In the fight to establish the new mass anti-fascist party, the Communist Party should by all means link up its whole struggle with the historical traditions of the American masses against capitalist oppression, which it is now beginning to do. Our Party must ruthlessly expose the brazen fascist national-chauvinist demagogy and show that the present anti-fascist struggle is the logical inheritor and carrier on of these traditions and mass aspirations, and that only by the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism can the historical struggle of the American toiling masses for a fuller and richer life be realized. In this respect, the popularization of the revolutionary role and achievements of the Soviet Union become a

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matter of most vital importance. The large foreign-born membership and immigrant background of our Party and its traditional narrow sectarianism in such matters make it doubly impartant that it pay close attention to the question of American mass traditions.

Reformists and semi-fascists of all stripes will surely fight to dominate or wreck the new united front party, and it would be the gravest error to underestimate the reformist illusions existing in the working class. But with the masses traveling so fast leftwards, this Right danger can be overcome and the new party used to draw the masses forward into anti-capitalist struggle. Such a mass united party in the United States in the present stage of mass upheaval and with an active Communist Party in the field could hardly be steered by reformists into any such conservative course as that of the German Social-Democracy or British Labor Party.

All efforts must be extended to get the new party in the field, or every possible local section or preliminary form of it, at the strategic period of the 1936 fall national elections. American workers, trained in the two capitalist parties, are not accustomed, like Social-Democratic or Communist workers, to the slow building of a party. They want quick results and they object to "throwing away their votes" on weak parties. The new party must and easily can win many local victories in the 1936 elections. Our Communist Party was tardy in re-issuing the Labor Party slogan, which it had shelved several years before, and this means that, by increased activity, it must make up for lost time.

In the United States there is now a race on between the fascists and the Communists for the leadership of the politically rapidly awakening masses. Despite some Communist Party united front successes, fascism in the United States develops with a fast tempo. Fascism has become a real danger. But it would be sheer madness to conclude therefrom that the victory of American fascism is inevitable. On the contrary, the political elements are at hand to deal fascism a decisive defeat. It is the task of our Party to organize these anti-fascist forces.

In France, the Communist Party, correctly applying the Comintern united front policy, has scored some real victories against fascism. As good or better can be achieved in the United States. The awakening masses will fight against fascism if we can give them proper leadership. We can confidently fight for victory in the United States that will deal a crushing defeat to fascism. And we can win that victory if the Communist Party knows how to apply in life the line and lessons of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International.

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The Threat of Fascism in the United States*

By GEORGI DIMITROFF

IN the United States of America millions of people have been brought into motion by the crisis. The program for the recovery of capitalism has collapsed. Vast masses are beginning to abandon the bourgeois parties, and are at present at the crossroads.

Incipient American fascism is endeavoring to direct the disillusionment and discontent of these masses into reactionary fascist channels. It is a peculiarity of the development of American fascism that at the present stage it appears principally in the guise of an opposition to fascism, which it accuses of being an "un-American" tendency imported from abroad. In contradistinction to German fascism, which acts under anti-constitutional slogans, American fascism tries to portray itself as the custodian of the constitution and "American democracy". It does not yet represent a directly menacing force. But if it succeeds in penetrating to the broad masses who have become disillusioned with the old bourgeois parties, it may become a serious menace in the very near future.

Even now we still have survivals of a stereotyped approach to the question of fascism. When some comrades assert that Roosevelt's "New Deal" represents an even clearer and more pronounced form of the development of the bourgeoisie towards fascism than the "National Government" in Great Britain, for example, is this not a manifestation of such a stereotyped approach to the question? One must indeed be a confirmed addict of the use of hackneyed schemes not to see that the most reactionary circles of American finance capital which are attacking Roosevelt represent first and foremost the very force which is stimulating and organizing the fascist movement in the United States. Not to see the beginnings of real fascism in the United States behind the hypocritical outpourings of these circles "in defense of the democratic rights of the American citizen" is tantamount to misleading the working class in the struggle against its worst enemy.

WHAT HAS THE VICTORY OF FASCISM BROUGHT TO THE MASSES IN GERMANY AND OTHER COUNTRIES?

Fascism promised the workers "a fair wage", but actually it has brought them an even lower, a pauper standard of living. It

* Excerpts from report, speech summing up the discussion, and closing speech at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

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promised work for the unemployed, but actually has brought them even more painful torments of starvation, and compulsory, servile labor. It actually converts the workers and unemployed into pariahs of capitalist society stripped of rights, destroys their trade unions, deprives them of the right to strike and to have their working class press, forces them into fascist organizations, plunders their social insurance funds and transforms the mills and factories into barracks where the unbridled arbitrary rule of the capitalists prevails.

Fascism promised the toiling *youth* a broad highway to a brilliant future. But actually it has brought with it wholesale dismissals of young workers, labor camps and continuous military drilling for a war of conquest.

Fascism promised the *non-manual workers, the petty officials and the intellectuals* to ensure them security of existence, to destroy the omnipotence of the trusts and wipe out profiteering by bank capital. But actually it has brought them an even greater degree of hopelessness and uncertainty as to the morrow; it is subjecting them to a new bureaucracy made up of the most compliant of its followers, it is setting up an intolerable dictatorship of the trusts, and fosters corruption and degeneration to an unprecedented extent.

Fascism promised the ruined and impoverished *peasants* to put an end to debt bondage, to abolish rent and even to alienate the landed estates without compensation, in the interests of the landless and impoverished peasants. But actually it is placing the toiling peasants in a state of unprecedented servitude to the trusts and the fascist state apparatus, and promotes the exploitation of the great mass of the peasantry by the big agrarians, the banks and the usurers to the very utmost limit.

In Germany alone, since the National-Socialists came to power, over 4,200 anti-fascist workers, peasants, employees, intellectuals—Communists, Social-Democrats and members of opposition Christian organizations—have been murdered, 317,800 arrested, 218,600 wounded and subjected to excruciating tortures. In Austria, since the battles of February last year, the "Christian" fascist government has murdered 1,900 revolutionary workers, maimed and wounded 10,000 and arrested 40,000. And this summary, comrades, is far from complete.

WHAT VICTORIOUS FASCISM WOULD MEAN IN THE UNITED STATES?

Fascism in power is *the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital.*

Whatever the masks which fascism adopts, whatever the forms in which it presents itself, whatever the ways by which it comes to

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power—*fascism is a most ferocious attack by capital on the toiling masses; fascism is unbridled chauvinism and annexationist war; fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution; fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all the toilers!*

Fascism is not super-class government, nor government of the petty bourgeoisie or the lumpen proletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. It is the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign policy, fascism is chauvinism in its crudest form, fomenting the bestial hatred of other nations.

And what would the success of fascism in the United States entail? For the toiling masses it would, of course, entail the unrestrained strengthening of the regime of exploitation and the destruction of the working class movement. And what would be the international significance of this success of fascism? As we know, the United States is not Hungary, or Finland, or Bulgaria, or Latvia. The success of fascism in the United States would change the whole international situation quite materially.

CAN THE VICTORY OF FASCISM BE PREVENTED?

Yes, the road in the way of fascism can be blocked. It is quite possible. It depends on ourselves—on the workers, the peasants and all the toilers!

Whether the victory of fascism can be prevented depends *in the first place* on the militant activity displayed by the working class itself, on whether its forces are welded into a single militant army combatting the offensive of capitalism and fascism. Having established its fighting unity, the proletariat would paralyze the influence of fascism over the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie of the towns, the youth and the intelligentsia, and would be able to neutralize one section and win over another section.

Millions of workers and toilers of the capitalist countries ask the question: How can fascism be prevented from coming to power and how can fascism be overthrown after it has been victorious? To this the Communist International replies: *The first thing that must be done, the thing with which to commence, is to form a united front, to establish unity of action of the workers in every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world. Unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale is the mighty weapon which renders the working class capable not only of successful defense but also of successful counter-offensive against fascism, against the class enemy.*

There is but one thing that the working class lacks—unity in its own ranks.

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We must strive to establish the widest united front with the aid of joint action by workers' organizations of different trends for the defense of the vital interests of the toiling masses.

UNITED FRONT—WHAT FOR?

The defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defense of the working class against fascism, must form the *starting point* and *main content* of the united front in all capitalist countries. This means:

First, joint struggle really to shift the burden of the consequences of the crisis on the shoulders of the ruling classes, the shoulders of the capitalists, landlords—in a word, to the shoulders of the rich.

Second, joint struggle against all forms of the fascist offensive, in defense of the gains and the rights of the toilers, against the liquidation of bourgeois-democratic liberties.

Third, joint struggle against the approaching danger of imperialist war, a struggle that will impede the preparations for such a war.

In countries of bourgeois democracy, we want to bar the road to reaction and the offensive of capital and fascism, prevent the abrogation of bourgeois-democratic liberties, forestall fascism's terrorist vengeance upon the proletariat, the revolutionary section of the peasantry and the intellectuals, save the young generation from physical and spiritual degeneracy.

In the fascist countries, we want to prepare and hasten the overthrow of fascist dictatorship.

We want to save the world from fascist barbarity and the horrors of imperialist war.

The popular hatred of war is constantly gaining in depth and intensity. In pushing the toilers into the abyss of imperialist wars, the bourgeoisie is staking its head. Today not only the working class, the peasantry and other toilers champion the cause of the preservation of peace, but also the oppressed nations and weak peoples whose independence is threatened by new wars.

This gives rise to the possibility of forming a most extensive front of the working class, of all the toilers, and of entire nations against the threat of imperialist war. Relying on the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the will of millions upon millions of toilers to have peace, our Congress has opened up the perspective of unfolding a wide anti-war front not only for the Communist vanguard, but for the working class of the whole world, for the peoples of every land. The extent to which this world-wide front is realized and put into action will determine whether the fascist and other imperialist war-incendiaries will be able in the near future to kindle a new imperialist war, or whether their fiendish hands will be hacked off by the axe of a powerful anti-war front.

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Now the toiling masses are faced with the necessity of making a *definite* choice, and of making it today, not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy but between bourgeois democracy and fascism. We are not anarchists and it is not at all a matter of indifference to us what kind of political regime exists in any given country: whether a bourgeois dictatorship in the form of bourgeois democracy, even with democratic rights and liberties greatly curtailed, or a bourgeois dictatorship in its open, fascist form. Being upholders of Soviet democracy, *we shall defend every inch of the democratic gains which the working class has wrested in the course of years of stubborn struggle, and shall resolutely fight to extend these gains.*

We Communists are the *irreconcilable opponents,* on *principle,* of bourgeois nationalism of every variety. But we *are not supporters of national nihilism,* and should never act as such.

The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat against its native exploiters and oppressors are in no contradiction whatever to the interests of a free and happy future of the nation. On the contrary, the Socialist revolution will signify the *saving of the nation* and will open up to it the road to loftier heights. By *the very fact* of building at the present time its class organizations and consolidating its positions, by the very fact of defending the democratic rights and liberties against fascism, by the very fact of fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the working class is fighting for the future of the nation.

The revolutionary proletariat is fighting to save the culture of the people, to liberate it from the shackles of decaying monopoly capitalism, from barbarous fascism which is violating it. *Only* the proletarian revolution can avert the destruction of culture, and raise it to the highest stage of florescence as a truly national culture—*national in form and Socialist in content.*

We, Communists, are a class party, a proletarian party. But, as the vanguard of the proletariat, we are ready to arrange joint actions between the proletariat and the other toiling classes interested in the fight against fascism. We, Communists, are a revolutionary party, but we are ready to undertake joint action with other parties fighting against fascism.

We, Communists, have other ultimate aims than these classes and parties, but, in struggling for our aims, we are ready to fight jointly for any immediate tasks which, when realized, will weaken the position of fascism and strengthen the position of the proletariat.

We, Communists, employ methods of struggle which differ from those of the other parties, but, while using our own methods in combatting fascism, we, Communists, will also support the methods of struggle used by other parties, however inadequate they may seem to be, if these methods are really directed against fascism.

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The Communist International *attaches no conditions to unity of action except one, and that an elementary condition acceptable for all workers, viz., that the untiy of action be directed against fascism, against the offensive of capital, against the threat of war, against the class enemy.* This is our condition.

We are definitely for the re-establishment of *trade union unity in each country and on an international scale. We are for one union in each industry.*

We stand for one federation of trade unions in each country. We are for one international federation of trade unions organized according to industries.

We stand for one International of trade unions based on the class struggle. We are for united class trade unions as one of the major bulwarks of the working class against the offensive of capital and fascism. Our only condition for uniting the trade unions is: *Struggle against capital, struggle against fascism, and internal trade union democracy.*

The struggle against the class enemy demands unity of political leadership, inasmuch as *duality in leadership* impedes the further development and reinforcement of the joint struggle of the working class.

The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat and the success of the proletarian revolution make it imperative that there be a *single party of the proletariat* in each country.

We are for the political unity of the working class! Therefore we are ready to collaborate most closely with all Social-Democrats who are for the united front and sincerely support unification.

FOR A WORKERS' AND FARMERS' PARTY: THE MASS PEOPLE'S FRONT IN THE U.S.A.

The interests of the American proletariat demand that all its forces dissociate themselves from the capitalist parties without delay. It must at the proper time find ways and suitable forms of preventing fascism from winning over the broad discontented masses of the toilers. And here it must be said that under American conditions the creation of a mass party of toilers, a *"Workers' and Farmers' Party"*, might serve as such a suitable form. *Such a party would be a specific form of the mass people's front in America* that should be set up in opposition to the parties of the trusts and the banks, and likewise to growing fascism. Such a party, of course, will be *neither* Socialist *nor* Communist. But it *will have to be* an anti-fascist party and *not* an anti-Communist party. The program of this party must be directed against the banks, trusts and monopolies, against the principal enemies of the people who are gambling on its misfortunes. Such a party will be equal to its task only if it defends

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the urgent demands of the working class, only if it fights for genuine social legislation, for unemployment insurance; only if it fights for land for the white and black share-croppers and for their liberation from the burden of debt; only if it works for the cancellation of the farmers' indebtedness; only if it fights for the equal status of the Negroes; only if it fights for the demands of the war veterans, and for the interests of the members of the liberal professions, the small business men, the artisans, and so on.

It goes without saying that such a party will fight for the election of its own candidates to local offices, to the state legislatures, to the House of Representatives and the Senate.

The question of forming a "Workers' and Farmers' Party", and its program, should be discussed at mass meetings of the people. We should develop the most widespread movement for the creation of such a party, and take the lead in it. In no case must the initiative of organizing the party be allowed to pass to elements desirous of utilizing the discontent of the masses which have become disillusioned in both the bourgeois parties, Democratic and Republican, in order to create a "third party" in the U.S., as an anti-Communist party, a party directed against the revolutionary movement.

In the mobilization of the toiling masses for the struggle against fascism, the formation of a *broad people's anti-fascist front* on *the basis of the proletarian united front* is a particularly important task. The success of the entire struggle of the proletariat is closely connected with the establishment of a fighting alliance between the proletariat on the one hand and the toiling peasantry and the basic mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie constituting a majority in the population of even industrially developed countries, on the other.

The fundamental, the most decisive point in establishing the front is *the resolute action of the revolutionary proletariat* in defense of the demands of all the toilers, particularly of the toiling peasantry, demands in line with the basic interests of the proletariat, combining in the process of struggle the demands of the working class with these demands.

We want to draw increasingly wide masses into the revolutionary class struggle and lead them to proletarian revolution, *proceeding from their vital interests and needs as the starting point, and their own experience as the basis.*

We indicate the possibility of forming a government of the anti-fascist united front in the conditions of a political crisis. In so far as such a government will really prosecute the struggle against the enemies of the people, and give a free hand to the working class and the Communist Party, we Communists shall accord it our unstinted support, and as soldiers of the revolution shall take our place in the *first line of fire.* But we state frankly to the masses:

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Final salvation this government *cannot* bring. It is not in a position to overthrow the class rule of the exploiters, and for this reason cannot finally eliminate the danger of fascist counter-revolution. Consequently it is necessary *to prepare for the socialist revolution!* Soviet power and *only* Soviet power can bring such salvation!

We demand of every united front government that such a government carry out definite and *fundamental revolutionary demands* required by the situation. For instance, control of production, control of the banks, disbanding of the police, its replacement by an armed workers' militia, etc.

THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN—A CONGRESS OF WORKING CLASS UNITY!

Ours is a Congress of the *unity of the working class*, the Congress of struggle for a united proletarian front.

Ours is a *Congress of struggle for the preservation of peace, against the threat of imperialist war.*

It has been not only a Congress of the Communist vanguard, but a Congress of the entire international working class thirsting for militant trade union and political unity. (*Applause.*)

Though our Congress was not attended by delegates of the Social-Democratic workers nor by non-party delegates, though the workers herded into fascist organizations were not represented, the Congress has spoken not only for the Communists, but also for these millions of workers. It has expressed the thoughts and feelings of the overwhelming majority of the working class. We want the workers affiliated with the parties of the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation, as well as the workers affiliated with organizations of other political trends to discuss these decisions jointly with us, bring in their amendments and make practical proposals; we want them to deliberate jointly with us how these decisions can best be carried into life, how they can best realize them in practice jointly with us, hand in hand.

The working class must and will achieve unity of action in all spheres of the labor movement! In vain are the efforts of the reactionaries, the fascists of every hue, the entire world bourgeoisie, to turn back the wheel of history!

To us, the workers, and not to the social parasites and idlers, belongs the world—a world built by the hands of the workers. The present rulers of the capitalist world are but *temporary* rulers.

The proletariat is the *real master, tomorrow's master of the world*, and it must enter upon its historical rights, take into its hands the reins of government in every country, all over the world!

If we and the proletariat of the whole world firmly follow the path indicated by Lenin and Stalin, the bourgeoisie will perish in spite of everything.

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The Present Rulers of the Capitalist Countries Are But Temporary, the Real Master of the World Is the Proletariat

By GEORGI DIMITROFF

(*Speech Delivered at the Close of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International on August* 20, 1935)

(*Comrade Dimitroff's appearance on the platform is greeted by a storm of cheers. All delegates rise and applaud heartily. Shouts of "Red Front!" "Banzai!" "Hurrah!" "Long Live Comrade Dimitroff!" Orchestral flourish. The ovation continues for several minutes.*)

COMRADES, the work of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, the Congress of the Communists of all countries, of all continents of the world, is coming to a close.

What are the results of this Congress, what is its significance for our movement, for the working class of the world, for the toilers of every land?

It has been the Congress of the *complete triumph of the unity between the proletariat of the country of victorious socialism, the Soviet Union, and the proletariat of the capitalist countries which is still fighting for its liberation.* The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union—a victory of world-historic significance—gives rise in all capitalist countries to a powerful movement toward socialism. This victory strengthens the cause of peace among peoples, enhancing as it does the international importance of the Soviet Union and its role as the mighty bulwark of the toilers in their struggle against capital, against reaction and fascism. It strengthens the Soviet Union as the base of the world proletarian revolution. It sets in motion throughout the whole world not only the workers, who are turning more and more to Communism, but also millions of peasants and farmers, of the hard-working petty townsfolk, a considerable proportion of the intellectuals, the enslaved peoples of the colonies. It inspires them to struggle, increases their attachment for the great fatherland of

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all the toilers, strengthens their determination to support and defend the proletarian state against all its enemies.

This victory of socialism increases the confidence of the international proletariat in its own forces and in the tangible possibility of its own victory, a confidence which is itself becoming a tremendously effective force against the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The union of forces of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and of the militant proletariat and toiling masses in the capitalist countries holds out the great perspective of the oncoming collapse of capitalism and the guarantee of the victory of socialism throughout the whole world.

Our Congress has *laid down the foundations for so extensive a mobilization of the forces of all toilers against capitalism as never existed in the history of the working class struggle.*

Our Congress has set before the international proletariat, as its most important immediate task, that of consolidating its forces politically and organizationally, of putting an end to the isolation to which it had been reduced by the Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, of rallying the toilers around the working class in a wide people's front against the offensive of capital and reaction, against fascism and the threat of war in each individual country and in the international arena.

We have not invented this task. It has been prompted by the experience of the world labor movement itself, above all, the experience of the proletariat of France. The great service which the French Communist Party performed consists in the fact that it grasped the need *of the hour*, that it paid no heed to the sectarians who tried to hold back the Party and hamper the realization of the united front of struggle against fascism, but acted boldly and in a Bolshevik fashion, and, by its pact with the Socialist Party providing for joint action, prepared the united front of the proletariat as the basis for the anti-fascist people's front now in the making. (*Applause.*) By this action, which accords with the vital interests of all the toilers, the French workers, both Communists and Socialists, have once more advanced the French labor movement to first place, to a *leading position* in capitalist Europe, and have shown that they are worthy successors of the Communards, worthy exponents of the glorious heritage of the Paris Commune. (*Storm of applause. All rise. Shouts of "Hurrah!" Comrade Dimitroff turns around to face the presidium and is joined by the entire audience in applauding Comrade Thorez and the other French comrades on the presidium.*)

It is the great service of the French Communist Party and the French proletariat that by their fighting against fascism in a united proletarian front they helped to prepare the decisions of our Congress, which are of such tremendous importance for the workers of all countries.

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But what has been done in France constitutes only initial steps. Our Congress, in mapping out the tactical line for the years immediately ahead, could not confine itself to merely recording this experience. It went further. We, Communists, are a class party, a proletarian party. But as the vanguard of the proletariat we are ready to arrange joint actions between the proletariat and the other toiling classes, interested in the fight against fascism. We, Communists, are a revolutionary party; but we are ready to undertake joint action with other parties fighting against fascism.

We, Communists, have other ultimate aims than these classes and parties, but in struggling for our aims we are ready to fight jointly for any immediate tasks which when realized will weaken the position of fascism and strengthen the position of the proletariat.

We, Communists, employ methods of struggle which differ from those of the other parties; but while using our own methods in combating fascism, we, Communists, will also support the methods of struggle used by other parties, however inadequate they may seem to be, if these methods are really directed against fascism.

We are ready to do all this because, in countries of bourgeois-democracy, we want to bar the road to reaction and the offensive of capital and fascism, prevent the abrogation of bourgeois-democratic liberties, forestall fascism's terrorist vengeance upon the proletariat, the revolutionary section of the peasantry and the intellectuals, save the young generation from physical and spiritual degeneracy.

We are ready to do all this because in the fascist countries we want to prepare and hasten the overthrow of fascist dictatorship.

We are ready to do all this *becase we want to save the world from fascist barbarity and the horrors of imperialist war.*

(*Here Comrade Weber, a delegate of the German Communist Party, mounts the platform and presents Comrade Dimitroff an album with the following words: "Comrade Dimitroff, in the name of the German Communist Party delegation I deliver this book into your hands, a book of the heroic exploits of the revolutionary fighters of Germany. It was you who by your conduct at the Leipzig trial and your entire subsequent activity served as an example for the German Communist Party, for the German anti-fascists, in their struggle. Accept this book, this song of the heroism of the proletarian fighters of Germany, to whom you have furnished an example to follow, who give up their freedom, their health, their lives in the cause of the revolution!" Comrade Dimitroff accepts the album and warmly embraces Comrade Weber. Loud applause, shouts of "Hurrah!" cheering.*)

Ours is a *Congress of struggle for the preservation of peace, against the threat of imperialist war.*

We are now raising the issue of this struggle *in a new way*. Our

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Congress is decidedly opposed to the fatalistic outlook on the question of imperialist war emanating from old Social-Democratic notions.

It is true that imperialist wars are the product of capitalism, that only the overthrow of capitalism will put an end to all war; but it is likewise true that the toiling masses can obstruct imperialist war by their militant action.

Today the world is not what it was in 1914.

Today on one-sixth of the globe there exists a powerful proletarian state that relies on the material strength of victorious socialism. Guided by Stalin's wise peace policy, the Soviet Union has already more than once brought to naught the aggressive plans of the instigators of war. (*Applause.*)

Today the world proletariat, in its struggle against war, has at its disposal not only its weapon of mass action, as it had in 1914. Today the mass struggle of the international working class against war is coupled with the political influence of the Soviet Union as a state, of its powerful Red Army, the most important guardian of the peace. (*Loud applause.*)

Today the working class is not laboring under the exclusive influence of Social-Democracy participating in a *bloc* with the bourgeoisie, as was the case in 1914. Today there is the World Communist Party, the Communist International. (*Applause.*) Today the bulk of the Social-Democratic workers are turning to the Soviet Union, to its policy of peace, to a united front with the Communists. Today the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries do not regard their liberation as a hopeless cause. On the contrary, they are passing on more and more to determined struggle against the imperialist enslavers. The best evidence of this is the *Soviet revolution in China* and the heroic exploits of the *Red Army of the Chinese people.* (*Stormy applause. All delegates rise. Loud cheering.*)

The popular hatred of war is constantly gaining in depth and intensity. In pushing the toilers into the abyss of imperialist wars the bourgeoisie is staking its head. Today not only the working class, the peasantry and other toilers champion the cause of the preservation of peace, but also the oppressed nations and weak peoples whose independence is threatened by new wars. Even some of the big capitalist states, afraid of losing out in a new redivision of the world, are interested *at the present stage* in the avoidance of war.

This gives rise to the possibility of forming a most extensive front of the working class, of all the toilers, and of entire nations against the threat of imperialist war. Relying on the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the will of millions upon millions of toilers to have peace, our Congress has opened up the perspective of unfolding a wide anti-war front not only for the Communist vanguard but for

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the working class of the whole world, for the peoples of every land. The extent to which this world-wide front is realized and put into action will determine whether the fascist and other imperialist war incendiaries will be able in the near future to kindle a new imperialist war, or whether their fiendish hands will be hacked off by the ax of a powerful anti-war front.

Ours is the Congress of the *unity of the working class*, the Congress of struggle for a united proletarian front.

We entertain no illusions on the subject of the difficulties which the reactionary portion of the Social-Democratic leaders will place in the path of realizing a united proletarian front. But we do not fear these difficulties. For we reflect the will of millions of workers; for we serve the interests of the proletariat best by fighting for a united front; for the united front is the surest road to the overthrow of fascism and the capitalist order of society, to the prevention of imperialist war.

At the Congress we have raised aloft the banner of *trade union unity*. Communists do not insist on the independent existence of the Red trade unions at all costs. We, Communists, want trade union unity. But this unity must be based on actual class struggle and on putting an end, once and for all, to a situation in which the most consistent and determined advocates of trade union unity and of the class struggle are expelled from the trade unions of the Amsterdam International. (*Applause.*)

We know that as yet not all those working in the trade unions affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions have understood and assimilated this line of the Congress. Among these workers there are still remnants of sectarian self-satisfaction which must be overcome if the line of the Congress is to be carried out firmly. But we shall carry out this line whatever the cost, and shall find a common language with our class brothers, our comrades in the struggle, the workers now affiliated with the Amsterdam International.

At this Congress we have taken the course of forming *a single mass political party of the working class*, to end the political split in the ranks of the proletariat, a split caused by the class collaboration policy of the Social-Democratic Parties. To us the political unity of the working class is *not a maneuver* but a question of the future fate of the entire labor movement. Should there be any people in our midst who approach the question of the political unity of the working class as a maneuver, we shall fight them as people bringing harm to the working class. Precisely because our attitude on this question is one of absolute seriousness and sincerity, dictated by the interests of the proletariat, we lay down definite fundamental conditions to serve as the basis for such unity. We have not invented these fundamental conditions. They are the result of the experience gained from

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the sufferings of the proletariat in the course of its struggle; they are also in accordance with the will of millions of Social-Democratic workers, a will engendered by the lessons of the defeats suffered. These fundamental conditions have been tested by the experience of the entire revolutionary labor movement. (*Applause.*)

Since proletarian unity has been the keynote of our Congress, it has been not only a Congress of the Communist vanguard, but a Congress of the entire international working class thirsting for militant trade union and political unity. (*Applause.*)

Though our Congress was not attended by delegates of the Social-Democratic workers nor by non-party delegates, though the workers herded into fascist organizations were not represented, the Congress has spoken not only for the Communists but also for these millions of workers. It has expressed the thoughts and feelings of the overwhelming majority of the working class. (*Applause.*) If the labor organizations of various trends were to hold a really free discussion of our decisions among the workers of the whole world, there is no doubt in our minds but that they would support the decisions for which you, comrades, have voted with such unanimity.

So much the greater our duty as Communists to render the decisions of our Congress in actual fact the property of the entire working class. To have voted for these decisions is not enough. Nor is it enough to popularize them among the members of the Communist Parties. We want the workers affiliated with the parties of the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation as well as the workers affiliated with organizations of other political trends to discuss these decisions jointly with us, bring in their amendments and make practical proposals; we want them to deliberate jointly with us how these decisions can best be carried into life, how they can best realize them in practice jointly with us, hand in hand.

Ours has been a Congress of a *new tactical orientation for the Communist International.*

Standing firmly on the impregnable position of Marxism-Leninism, which has been confirmed by the entire experience of the international labor movement, and primarily by the victories of the great October Revolution, our Congress, acting in the spirit and guided by the method of *living Marxism-Leninism*, has revised the tactical lines of the Communist International to meet the changed world situation.

The Congress has taken a firm decision that the united front tactics must be applied *in a new way*. The Congress is emphatic in its demands that Communists do not content themselves with the mere propaganda of general slogans about proletarian dictatorship and Soviet Power, but that they pursue a definite, active, Bolshevik policy with regard to all internal and foreign political questions

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arising in their country, with regard to all urgent problems that affect the vital interests of the working class, of their own people and of the international labor movement. The Congress insists most emphatically that all tactical steps taken by the Communist Parties be based on a sober analysis of actual conditions, on a consideration of the relationship of class forces, and of the political level of the broadest masses. The Congress demands the complete eradication of every vestige of *sectarianism* from the practice of the Communist movement, as this represents at present the greatest obstacle in the way of the Communist Parties carrying out a really mass, really Bolshevik policy.

While imbued with the determination to carry out this tactical line and filled with the conviction that this road will lead our Parties to major successes, the Congress has at the same time taken into account the possibility that the carrying out of this Bolshevik line may not always be smooth sailing, may not always proceed without mistakes, without deviations here and there to the Right or to the "Left"—deviations in the direction of *adjusting oneself to trailing behind events*, or in the direction of *sectarian self-isolation*. Which of these is, "speaking generally", the main danger, is a dispute in which only scholastics can engage. The greater and worse danger is that which at any given moment and in any given country represents the greater obstacle to the carrying out of the line of our Congress, to the development of the correct mass policy of the Communist Parties. (*Applause.*)

The cause of Communism demands, not abstract, but *concrete struggle against deviations;* the prompt and determined rebuff of all harmful tendencies, as they arise, and the timely rectification of mistakes. To replace the necessary concrete struggle against deviations by a peculiar *sport*—hunting imaginary deviations or deviators—is an intolerably harmful twist. In our Party practice every encouragement must be given to develop initiative in formulating new questions. We must assist in having the questions concerning the activity of the Party discussed from every angle, and not hastily set down as some deviation or other every doubt or critical remark made by a Party member with reference to practical problems of the movement. A comrade who committed an error must be given an opportunity to correct it in practice, and *only those who stubbornly persist in their mistakes and those who disorganize the Party are to be flayed without mercy*.

Championing, as we do, working class unity, we shall with so much the more energy and irreconcilibility fight for *unity within our Parties*. There can be no room in our Parties for factions, or for attempts at factionalism. Whoever will try to break up the iron unity of our ranks by any kind of factionalism will get to feel what

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is meant by the Bolshevik discipline that Lenin and Stalin have always taught us. (*Applause.*) Let this be a warning to those few elements in individual Parties who think that they can take advantage of the difficulties of their Party, the wounds of defeat or the blows of the raging enemy, to carry out their factional plans, to further their own group interests. (*Applause.*) *The Party is above every thing else!* (*Loud applause.*) *To guard the Bolshevik unity of the Party as the apple of one's eye is the first and highest law of Bolshevism!*

Ours is a Congress of *Bolshevik self-criticism and of the strengthening of the leadership of the Communist International and its Sections.*

We are not afraid of pointing out openly the mistakes, weaknesses and shortcomings in our ranks, for we are a revolutionary Party which knows that it can develop, grow and accomplish its tasks only if it discards everything impeding its development as a revolutionary Party.

And the work which the Congress has accomplished by its merciless criticism of self-satisfied sectarianism, of the use of cut-and-dried schemes and stereotyped practices, phlegmatic thinking, substitution of the methods of leading a Party for the methods of leading masses—all this work must be continued in an appropriate manner in all Parties, locally, in all links of our movement, as this is one of the most essential preconditions for correctly carrying into life the decisions of the Congress. (*Applause.*)

In its resolution on the report of the Executive Committee, the Congress resolved to concentrate the *day-to-day leadership* of our movement in the Sections themselves. This makes it our duty to intensify in every way the work of forming and training cadres and of reinforcing the Communist Parties with genuine Bolshevik leaders, so that at abrupt turns of events the Parties might quickly and independently find correct solutions for the political and tactical problems of the Communist movement, on the basis of the decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International and the Plenums of its Executive Committee. The Congress, when electing the leading bodies of the Communist International, strove to constitute its leadership of such people as accept the new lines and decisions of the Congress and are ready and able firmly to carry them into life, not from a sense of discipline, but out of profound conviction.

It is likewise necessary in each country to ensure the correct application of the decisions adopted by the Congress. This will depend primarily on appropriately testing, distributing and directing the cadres. We know that this is not an easy task. It must be borne in mind that some of our cadres did not go through the experience of Bolshevik mass policy, but were brought up largely along the lines of general propaganda. We must do everything to help our cadres

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reorganize, to be retrained in a new spirit, in the spirit of the decisions of this Congress. But where the *old bottles* prove unsuited for the *new wine*, the necessary conclusions must be drawn—not to spill the *new* wine or spoil it by pouring it into the *old* bottles, but to replace the *old* bottles by *new* ones. (*Loud applause.*)

We intentionally expunged from the reports as well as from the decisions of the Congress *high-sounding phrases* on the revolutionary perspective. We did this not because we have any ground for appraising the tempo of revolutionary development less optimistically than before, but because we want to rid our Parties of an inclination to replace Bolshevik activity by revolutionary phrase-mongering or futile disputes about the appraisal of the perspective. Waging a decisive struggle against any reliance on spontaneity, we take account of the process of development of the revolution, not as passive observers, but as active participants in this process. By proceeding as the party of revolutionary action—fulfilling at every stage of the movement the tasks that are in the interest of the revolution, the tasks that correspond to the specific conditions of the given stage, and soberly taking into consideration the political level of the wide toiling masses—we accelerate, more than in any other way, the creation of the subjective preconditions necessary for the *victory of the proletarian revolution.* (*Applause.*)

"*Take things as they are,*" said Marx, "*that is, defend the interests of the revolution as changed conditions may require*". This is the gist of the matter. This we must never forget.

Comrades: *the decisions of the World Congress must be brought home to the masses, must be explained to the masses, must be applied as a guide for the action of the masses,* in a word, *must be made the flesh and blood of millions of toilers!*

It is necessary to encourage everywhere as much as possible *the initiative of the workers in their respective localities,* the initiative displayed by the lower organizations of the Communist Parties and the labor movement in carrying out these decisions.

When leaving here, the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat must bring to their respective countries the firm conviction that we, Communists, bear the responsibility for the fate of the working class, of the labor movement, the responsibility for the fate of each people, for the fate of all toiling humanity.

To us, the workers, and not to the social parasites and idlers, belongs the world—a world built by the hands of the workers. The present rulers of the capitalist world are but *temporary* incumbents.

The proletariat is the *real master, tomorrow's master of the world.* (*Loud applause.*) And it must enter upon its historical rights, take into its hands the reins of government in every country, all over the world. (*Applause.*)

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We are disciples of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We should be worthy of our great teachers. (*Applause.*)

With Stalin at their head the millions of our political army overcoming all difficulties and courageously breaking through all barriers must and will level to the ground the fortress of capitalism and achieve the victory of socialism throughout the whole world! (*Storm of applause.*)

Long live the unity of the working class!

Long live the Seventh Congress of the Communist International!

(*Loud applause, passing into an ovation. The orchestra plays the "Internationale" in which all delegates joint. Cheers from the various delegations: "Long Live Stalin!" "Long Live Dimitroff!" "Hurrah!" "A triple 'Red Front'!" The French delegation sings the "Carmagnole"; the Czech delegation, "The Scarlet Banner"; the Chinese delegation, "The March of the Chinese Red Army"; the Italian delegation, "Bandiera Rossa"; the German delegation, "Red Wedding". Shouts from the delegations: "Long live the helmsman of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitroff!" "Hurrah!" Applause. Thorez: "Hurrah for the Bolshevik Party and its leader, Comrade Stalin!" "Hurrah for the Communist International and its helmsman, Comrade Dimitroff!" Renewed shouts of "Hurrah". The orchestra plays the "Internationale."*)

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The Communist International — From the Sixth to the Seventh Congress — 1928-1935

(Resolution on the Report of Wilhelm Pieck Adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International on August 1, 1935)

1. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International endorses the political line and practical activity of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

2. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International approves the proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International of March, 1933, October, 1934, and April, 1935, to the national sections and leadership of the Second International for joint action in the struggle against fascism, the offensive of capital and war. Expressing its regret that to the detriment of the working class these proposals were rejected by the Executive Committee of the Second International and by most of its Sections, and noting the historic significance of the fact that Social-Democratic workers and a number of Social-Democratic organizations are already struggling hand in hand with Communists against fascism and for the interest of the toiling masses, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International enjoins the Executive Committee of the Communist International and all Parties affiliated with the Communist International to strive in the future by every means to establish the united front on a national as well as an international scale.

3. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International records the growing revolutionary influence of the work and slogans of the Communist Parties on the broad masses of workers, including members of Social-Democratic Parties With this as its point of departure, the Congress enjoins all Sections of the Communist International to overcome in the shortest possible time the survivals of sectarian traditions which prevented them from finding a way of approach to the Social-Democratic workers, and to change the methods of agitation and propaganda which hitherto were at times abstract in character and little accessible to the masses, by giving these method absolutely definite direction and linking them with the immediate needs and day to day interests of the masses.

4. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International notes serious shortcomings in the work of a number of Sections

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of the Communist International in the belated carrying out of the tactics of the united front, the inability to mobilize masses around partial demands, political as well as economic in character, failure to realize the necessity of struggling in defense of the remnants of bourgeois democracy, failure to realize the necessity of creating an anti-imperialist People's Front in colonial and dependent countries, neglect of work in reformist and fascist trade unions and mass organizations of toilers formed by bourgeois parties, underestimation of the importance of work among toiling women, the peasantry and urban petty-bourgeois masses, also the delay with which the Executive Committee gave political assistance to these Sections.

Taking into consideration the constantly growing importance and responsibility of the Communist Parties which are called on to head the movement of the masses in the process of revolutionization, taking into consideration the necessity of concentrating leadership within the Sections themselves, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International instructs the E.C.C.I.:

(a) While shifting the main stress of its activity to elaboration of the fundamental political and tactical lines of the world labor movement, to proceed in deciding any question from the concrete situation and specific conditions obtaining in each particular country and as a rule to avoid direct intervention in internal organizational matters of the Communist Parties;

(b) Systematically to assist in the formation and training of cadres of genuinely Bolshevik leaders in the Communist Parties so that the Parties will be able at the sharpest turn of events independently and quickly to find, on the basis of the decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International and Plenums of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, correct solutions for political and tactical problems of the Communist movement;

(c) To render effective aid to the Communist Parties in their ideological struggle against political opponents;

(d) To assist the Communist Parties in making use of their own experience as well as the experience of the world Communist movement, avoiding, however, mechanical application of the experience of one country to another country and substitution of stereotyped methods and general formulations for concrete Marxian analysis;

(e) To ensure closer contact between leading bodies of the Communist International and various Sections of the Communist International by still more active participation on the part of authoritative representatives of the most important Sections of the Communist International in the day-to-day work of the E.C.C.I.

5. Pointing out the underestimation by Young Communist Leagues as well as by Communist Parties of the importance of work

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among youth and the weakness of this work in a number of countries, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International instructs the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International to take effective measures to overcome the sectarian secludedness of a number of Young Communist International organizations, to make it the duty of Young Communist League members to join all mass organizations of the toiling youth (trade union, cultural, sports organizations) formed by bourgeois democratic, reformist and fascist parties, as well as religious organizations; to wage a systematic struggle in these organizations to gain influence over the broad masses of youth, mobilizing it for the struggle against militarization, forced labor, and for the improvement of its material conditions, for the rights of the young generation of toilers, while striving to establish for these purposes a broad united front of all non-fascist youth mass organizations

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International notes that during the past few years, under the influence of the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., of the crisis in the capitalist countries, the fiendishness of German fascism, the danger of a new war, the turn of broad masses of workers and toilers in general from reformism to revolutionary struggle, from disunity and dispersion to united front, has set in all over the world.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International, taking account of the fact that the striving of the toilers for unity of action will continue to grow in the future despite the resistance of individual leaders of Social-Democracy, instructs all Sections of the Communist International in the process of struggle for the united front of the proletariat, and the people's front of all toilers against the offensive of capital, against fascism, the danger of new war, to focus their attention on the further consolidation of their ranks and the winning of the majority of the working class to the side of Communism.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International points out that the transformation of maturing political crisis into victorious proletarian revolution depends solely on the strength and influence of the Communist Parties among the broad masses of the proletariat, on the energy and self-sacrificing devotion of Communists. Now when political crises are maturing in a number of capitalist countries, it is the most important, the paramount task of Communists, not to rest on successes already achieved, but to advance towards new successes, extend contacts with the working class, gain the confidence of millions of toilers, transform the various Sections of the Communist International into mass parties, bring the majority of the working class under the influence of the Communist Parties, and thus secure the conditions necessary for the victory of proletarian revolution.

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The Offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Fight for the Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism

(Resolution on the Report of Georgi Dimitroff Adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International on August 20, 1935)

I. FASCISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

1. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares that the alignment of class forces in the international arena and the tasks facing the labor movement of the world are determined by the following basic changes in the world situation:

(a) *The final and irrevocable victory of Socialism in the Land of the Soviets*, a victory of world importance, which has enormously enhanced the power and role of the U.S.S.R. as the bulwark of the exploited and oppressed of the whole world, and is inspiring the toilers to struggle against capitalist exploitation, bourgeois reaction and fascism, for peace, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

(b) *The most profound economic crisis in the history of capitalism*, from which the bourgeoisie has tried to extricate itself by ruining the masses of the people, by dooming tens of millions of unemployed to starvation and extinction, and by lowering the standard of living of the toilers to an unprecedented extent. Despite a growth in industrial production in a number of countries and an increase in the profits of the financial magnates, the world bourgeoisie has not succeeded on the whole either in emerging from the crisis and the depression, or in retarding the further accentuation of the contradictions of capitalism. In some countries (France, Belgium, etc.) the crisis is continuing, in others it has entered a state of depression, while in those countries where production has exceeded the pre-crisis level (Japan, Great Britain) new economic upheavals are impending.

(c) *The offensive of fascism, the advent to power of the fascists in Germany, the growth of the threat of a new imperialist world war and of an attack on the U.S.S.R.*, by means of which the

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capitalist world is seeking a way out of the impasse of its contradictions.

(d) *The political crisis,* expressed in the armed struggle of the workers in Austria and Spain against the fascists, a struggle which has not yet led to the victory of the proletariat over fascism, but which prevented the bourgeoisie from consolidating its fascist dictatorship; *the powerful anti-fascist movement in France,* which began with the February demonstration and the general strike of the proletariat in 1934.

(e) *The revolutionization of the toiling masses* throughout the whole capitalist world which is taking place under the influence of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and of the world economic crisis, also on the basis of the lessons derived from the temporary defeat of the proletariat in the central part of Europe—in Germany —as well as in Austria and Spain, that is, in countries *where the majority of the organized workers supported Social-Democratic Parties.* A powerful urge for *unity of action* is growing in the ranks of the international working class. The revolutionary movement in the *colonial countries* and the Soviet revolution in *China* are extending. The relationship of class forces on a world scale is changing more and more in the direction of *a growth of the forces of revolution.*

In this situation, the ruling bourgeoisie is seeking salvation more and more *in fascism,* in the establishment of the *open, terrorist dictatorship* of the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and the most imperialist elements of finance capital, with the aim of putting into effect extraordinary measures for despoiling the toilers, of preparing a predatory, imperialist war, of attacking the U.S.S.R., enslaving and dividing up China, and, on the basis of all this, preventing revolution. Finance capital is striving to curb the indignation of the petty-bourgeois masses against capitalism through the medium of its fascist agents who demagogically adapt their slogans to the moods of these sections of the population. Fascism is thus setting up for itself a mass basis and, by directing these sections as a reactionary force against the working class, leads to the still greater enslavement of all the toilers by finance capital. In a number of countries fascism is already in power. But the growth of fascism and its victory attest not only to the weakness of the working class, disorganized as the result of Social-Democracy's disruptive policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, but also to the *weakness of the bourgeoisie itself,* which is stricken with fear at the realization of unity in the struggle of the working class, is in fear of revolution, and is no longer able to maintain its dictatorship by the old methods of bourgeois democracy.

2. The most reactionary variety of fascism is the *German* type

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of fascism which brazenly calls itself National-Socialism though it has absolutely nothing in common either with socialism, or with the defense of the real national interests of the common people, and merely fulfills the role of lackey of the big bourgeoisie and constitutes not only *bourgeois nationalism but also bestial chauvinism.*

Fascist Germany is plainly showing to the whole world *what* the masses of the people may expect where fascism is victorious. The raging fascist government is annihilating the flower of the working class, its leaders and organizers, in jails and concentration camps. It has destroyed the trade unions, the cooperative societies, all legal organizations of the workers, as well as all other non-fascist political and cultural organizations. It has deprived the workers of the elementary right to defend their interests. It has converted a cultured country into a hotbed of obscurantism, barbarity and war. German fascism is the main instigator of a new imperialist war and comes forward as the *shock troop of international counter-revolution.*

3. In emphasizing the growth of the threat of fascism in all capitalist countries, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International warns against any underestimation of the fascist danger. The Congress also rejects the fatalistic views regarding the inevitability of the victory of fascism. These views are basically incorrect and can only give rise to passivity and weaken the mass struggle against fascism. The working class can prevent the victory of fascism, if it succeeds in bringing about unity in its struggle and by promptly developing its own militant action does not allow fascism to gather strength; if it succeeds, by correct revolutionary leadership, in rallying around itself the broad strata of toilers in town and country.

4. The victory of fascism is insecure. In spite of the formidable difficulties that fascist dictatorship creates for the working-class movement, the foundations of bourgeois domination are being further shaken under the rule of the fascists. The internal conflicts in the camp of the bourgeoisie are becoming especially acute. The legalistic illusions of the masses are being shattered. The revolutionary hatred of the workers is accumulating. The baseness and falsity of the social demagogy of fascism is revealing itself more and more. Fascism not only did not bring the masses the improvement in their material conditions which they had been promised, but has brought about a further increase of the profits of the capitalists by lowering the living standard of the toiling masses, has intensified their exploitation by a handful of financial magnates, and has carried out their further spoliation for the benefit of capital. The disillusionment of the urban petty-bourgeois strata and of the toiling peasants, deceived by the fascists, is growing. The mass base of fascism is disintegrating and narrowing down. The Congress, however, warns

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against the dangerous illusions of an automatic collapse of the fascist dictatorship, and points out that only the *united revolutionary struggle* of the working class at the head of all the toilers will bring about the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

5. In connection with the victory of fascism in Germany and the growth of the fascist danger in other countries, the class struggle of the proletariat, which is increasingly adopting the course of *determined resistance* to the fascist bourgeoisie, sharpened and continues to sharpen. *The united front movement* against the offensive of capital and fascism is developing in all capitalist countries. The National-Socialist terror raging in Germany has lent powerful impetus to the *international united front* of the proletariat (the Leipzig trial, the campaign for the release of Dimitroff and the comrades jailed together with him, the campaign for the defense of Thaelmann, etc.).

Although the united front movement is as yet only in the initial stage of its development, the Communist and Social-Democratic workers of France, fighting side by side, succeeded in beating off the first attacks of fascism, thereby exerting a mobilizing influence on the united front movement internationally. The joint armed struggle of the Social-Democratic and Communist workers in Austria and Spain not only set a heroic example to the toilers of other countries, but also demonstrated that a successful struggle against fascism would have been fully possible but for the sabotage of the Right and the wavering of the "Left" Social-Democratic leaders (in Spain there must be added the open treachery of the majority of the Anarcho-Syndicalist leaders), whose influence over the masses deprived the proletariat of determined revolutionary leadership and of clarity in the aims of the struggle.

6. The bankruptcy of the leading party of the Second International, of German Social-Democracy, which by its entire policy facilitated the victory of fascism, also the failure of "Left" reformist Social-Democracy in Austria, which drew the broad masses away from the struggle even when the inevitable armed clash with fascism was drawing close, have tremendously increased the disillusionment of the Social-Democratic workers with the policy of the Social-Democratic Parties. The Second International is undergoing a profound crisis. Within the Social-Democratic Parties and the whole Second International a process of differentiation into *two main camps* is taking place—side by side with the existing camp of the *reactionary elements* who are trying to continue the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, there is being formed a camp of *elements who are becoming revolutionized*, elements who declare for the establishment of the united proletarian front and are adopting more and more the position of the revolutionary class struggle.

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The Seventh Congress of the Communist International welcomes the aspiration of the Social-Democratic workers to establish a united front with the Communists, regarding this as a sign that their class consciousness is growing, and that a beginning has been made toward overcoming the split in the ranks of the working class in the interest of a successful struggle against fascism, against the bourgeoisie.

II. THE UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM

In face of the towering menace of fascism to the working class and all the gains it has made, to all toilers and their elementary rights, to the peace and liberty of the peoples, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares that *at the present historical stage it is the main and immediate task of the international labor movement to establish the united fighting front of the working class.* For a successful struggle against the offensive of capital, against the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie, against fascism, the bitterest enemy of all the toilers who, without distinction of political views, have been deprived of all rights and liberties, it is imperative that unity of action be established between all sections of the working class, irrespective of what organization they belong to, even before the majority of the working class unites on a common fighting platform for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution. But it is precisely for this very reason that this task makes it the duty of the Communist Parties to take into consideration the changed circumstances and to apply the united front tactics *in a new manner,* by seeking to reach agreements with the organizations of the toilers of various political trends for joint action on a factory, local, district, national and international scale.

With this as its point of departure, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International enjoins the Communist Parties to be guided by the following instructions when carrying out the united front tactics:

1. *The defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defense of the latter against fascism,* must be the starting point and form the main content of the workers' united front in all capitalist countries. In order to set the broad masses in motion, such slogans and forms of struggle must be put forward as arise from the vital needs of the masses and from the level of their fighting capacity at the given stage of development. Communists must not limit themselves to merely issuing appeals to struggle for proletarian dictatorship, but must show the masses *what they are to do today* to defend themselves against capitalist plunder and fascist barbarity. They must strive, through the joint action of

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the labor organizations, to mobilize the masses around *a program of demands that are calculated really to shift the burden of the consequences of the crisis onto the shoulders of the ruling classes, demands, the fight to realize which, disorganizes fascism, hampers the preparations for imperialist war, weakens the bourgeoisie and strengthens the positions of the proletariat.*

While preparing the working class for rapid shifts in the forms and methods of struggle as circumstances change, it is necessary to organize, in proportion as the movement grows, the transition *from the defensive to the offensive* against capital, steering toward the organization of a *mass political strike,* in which it is indispensable that the participation of the principal trade unions of the country should be secured.

2. Without for a moment giving up their independent work in the sphere of Communist education, organization and mobilization of the masses, the Communists, in order to render the road to unity of action easier for the workers, must *strive to secure joint action with the Social-Democratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other organizations of the toilers against the class enemies of the proletariat, on the basis of short or long-term agreements.* At the same time attention must be directed mainly to the development of mass action in the various localities, conducted by the *lower organizations* through local agreements.

Loyally fulfilling the conditions of the agreements, the Communists must promptly expose any sabotage of joint action by persons or organizations participating in the united front, and if the agreement is broken, must immediately appeal to the masses while continuing their tireless struggle for the restoration of the disrupted unity of action.

3. The forms in which the united proletarian front is realized, which depend on the condition and character of the labor organizations and on the concrete situation, must be varied in character. Such forms may include, for instance, joint action by the workers agreed upon *from case to case* on particular occasions, to secure individual demands, or on the basis of a common platform; action agreed upon in *individual enterprises* or *branches of industry;* action agreed upon on a *local, district, national or international scale;* action agreed upon in the organization of the *economic struggle* of the workers, in defense of the interests of the unemployed, in carrying out mass *political* activity, in the organization of joint *self-defense* against fascist attacks; action agreed upon to render *aid to political prisoners and their families,* in the field of struggle against *social* reaction; joint action in defense of the *interests of the youth and women,* in the sphere of the *cooperative movement, cultural activity and sports;* joint action for the purpose of supporting the demands of the toiling

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peasants, etc.; the formation of workers', and workers' and peasants' alliances (Spain); the formation of lasting coalitions in the shape of "Labor Parties" or "Workers' and Farmers' Parties" (U.S.A.).

In order to develop the united front movement as the cause of the masses themselves, Communists must strive to secure the establishment of elected (or, in the countries under fascist dictatorship, selected from the most authoritative participants in the movement) non-Party *class organs of the united front* in the factories, among the unemployed, in the working-class districts, among the small townsfolk, and in the villages. Only such bodies, which, of course, should not supplant the organizations participating in the united front, will be able to bring into the united front movement also the vast *unorganized mass* of toilers, will be able to assist in developing the initiative of the masses in the struggle against the offensive of capital and against fascism, and on this basis help to create a large body of working-class united front activists.

4. Wherever the Social-Democratic leaders, in their efforts to deflect the workers from the struggle in defense of their every-day interests and in order to frustrate the united front, put forward *widely advertised "Socialist" projects* (the de Man plan, etc.), the demagogic nature of such projects must be exposed, and the toilers must be shown the impossibility of bringing about socialism so long as power remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, however, some of the measures put forward in these projects that can be linked up with the vital demands of the toilers should be utilized *as the starting point for developing a mass united front struggle jointly with the Social-Democratic workers.*

In countries where *Social-Democratic governments* are in power (or where there are coalition governments in which Socialists participate), Communists must not confine themselves to propaganda exposing the policies of such governments, but must mobilize the broad masses for the struggle to secure their practical vital class demands, the fulfillment of which the Social-Democrats announced in their platforms, particularly when they were not yet in power or were not yet members of their respective governments.

5. Joint action with the Social-Democratic Parties and organizations not only does not preclude, but on the contrary, *renders still more necessary* the serious and well-founded criticism of reformism, of Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and the patient exposition of the principles and program of Communism to the Social-Democratic workers.

While revealing to the masses the meaning of the demagogic arguments advanced by the Right Social-Democratic leaders against the united front, *while intensifying the struggle against the reactionary section of Social-Democracy*, the Communists must establish *the*

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closest cooperation with those Left Social-Democratic workers, functionaries and organizations, that fight against the reformist policy and advocate a united front with the Communist Party. The more we intensify our fight against the reactionary camp of Social-Democracy, which is participating in a bloc with the bourgeoisie, the more effective will be the assistance we give to that part of Social-Democracy which is becoming revolutionized and the self-determination of the various elements within the Left camp will take place the sooner, the more resolutely the Communists fight for a united front with the Social-Democratic Parties.

The attitude to the practical realization of the united front will be the chief indication of the true position of the various groups among the Social-Democrats. In the fight for the practical realization of the united front, those Social-Democratic leaders who come forward as Lefts in words will be obliged to show by deeds whether they are really ready to fight the bourgeoisie and the Right Social-Democrats, or are on the side of the bourgeoisie, that is, against the cause of the working class.

6. *Election campaigns* must be utilized for the further development and strengthening of the united fighting front of the proletariat. While coming forward independently in the elections and unfolding the program of the Communist Party before the masses, the Communists must seek to establish a united front with the Social-Democratic Parties and the trade unions (also with the organizations of the toiling peasants, handicraftsmen, etc.), and exert every effort to prevent the election of reactionary and fascist candidates. In face of fascist danger, the Communists may, *while reserving for themselves freedom of political agitation and criticism,* participate in election campaigns on *a common platform and with a common ticket of the anti-fascist front,* depending on the growth and success of the united front movement, also depending on the electoral system in operation.

7. In striving to unite, under the leadership of the proletariat, the struggle of the toiling peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the toiling masses of the oppressed nationalities, the Communists must seek to bring about the establishment of a wide *anti-fascist people's front* on the basis of the proletarian united front, supporting all those specific demands of those sections of the toilers which are in line with the fundamental interests of the proletariat. It is particularly important to mobilize the *toiling peasants* against the fascist policy of robbing the basic masses of the peasantry; against the plundering price policy of monopoly capital and the bourgeois governments, against the unbearable burden of taxes, rents and debts, against forced sales of peasant property, and in favor of government aid for the ruined peasantry. While working everywhere among the

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urban petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia as well as among the *office employees*, the Communists must rouse these strata against increasing taxation and the high cost of living, against their spoliation by monopoly capital, by the trusts, against the thraldom of interest payments, and against dismissals and reductions in salary of government and municipal employees. While defending the interests and rights of the progressive intellectuals, it is necessary to give them every support in their movement against cultural reaction, and to facilitate their going over to the side of the working class in the struggle against fascism.

8. In the circumstances of a *political crisis*, when the ruling classes are no longer in a position to cope with the powerful sweep of the mass movement, the Communists must advance *fundamental* revolutionary slogans (such as, for instance, control of production and the banks, disbandment of the police force and its replacement by an armed workers' militia, etc.), which are directed toward still further shaking the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie and increasing the strength of the working class, toward isolating the parties of compromise, and which lead the working masses right up to the point of the revolutionary seizure of power. If with such an upsurge of the mass movement it will prove possible, and necessary, in the interests of the proletariat, to create a *proletarian united front government*, or an *anti-fascist people's front government*, which is not yet a government of the proletarian dictatorship, but one which undertakes to put into effect decisive measures against fascism and reaction, the Communist Party must see to it that such a government is formed. The following situation is an essential prerequisite for the formation of a united front government: (a) When the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie is seriously paralyzed so that the bourgeoisie is not in a condition to prevent the formation of such a government; (b) When vast masses of the toilers vehemently take action against fascism and reaction, but are not yet ready to rise and fight for Soviet Power; (c) When already a considerable proportion of the organizations of the Social-Democratic and other parties participating in the united front demand ruthless measures against the fascists and other reactionaries, and are ready to fight together with the Communists for the carrying out of these measures.

In so far as the united front government will really undertake decisive measures against the counter-revolutionary financial magnates and their fascist agents, and will in no way restrict the activity of the Communist Party and the struggle of the working class, the Communist Party will support such a government in every way. The participation of the Communists in a united front government will be decided separately in each particular case as the concrete situation may warrant.

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III. THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Emphasizing the special importance of forming a united front in the sphere of the economic struggle of the workers and the establishment of the unity of the trade union movement as a most important step in consolidating the united front of the proletariat, the Congress makes it a duty of the Communists to adopt all practical measures for the realization of the unity of the trade unions by industries and on a national scale.

The Communists are decidedly for the reestablishment of trade union unity in each country and on an international scale; for united class trade unions as one of the major bulwarks of the working class against the offensive of capital and fascism; for one trade union in each industry; for one federation of trade unions in each country; for one international federation of trade unions organized according to industries; for one international of trade unions based on the class struggle.

In countries where there are small Red trade unions, efforts must be made to secure their admission into the big reformist trade unions, with demands put forward for the right to defend their views and the reinstatement of expelled members. In countries where big Red and reformist trade unions exist side by side, efforts must be made to secure their amalgamation on an equal footing, on the basis of a platform of struggle against the offensive of capital and a guarantee of trade union democracy.

It is the duty of Communists to work actively in the reformist and united trade unions, to consolidate them and to recruit the unorganized workers for them, and at the same time exert every effort to have these organizations actually defend the interests of the workers and really become genuine class organizations. To this end the Communists must strive to secure the support of the entire membership, of the officials, and of the organizations as a whole.

It is the duty of the Communists to defend the trade unions against all attempts on the part of the bourgeoisie and the fascists to restrict their rights or to destroy them.

If the reformist leaders resort to the policy of expelling revolutionary workers or entire branches from the trade unions, or adopt other forms of repression, the Communists must rally the entire union membership against the splitting activity of the leadership, at the same time establishing contact between the expelled members and the bulk of the members of the trade unions, and engaging in a joint struggle for their reinstatement, for the restoration of the disrupted trade union unity.

The Red trade unions and the Red International of Labor Unions must receive the fullest support of the Communist Parties in their efforts to bring about the joint struggle of the trade unions of

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all trends, and establish unity in the trade union movement both nationally and internationally, *on the basis of the class struggle and trade union democracy.*

IV. TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS IN THE INDIVIDUAL SECTORS OF THE ANTI-FASCIST MOVEMENT

1. The Congress calls particular attention to the necessity of carrying on a systematic *ideological struggle against fascism.* In view of the fact that the chief, the most dangerous form of fascist ideology is *chauvinism,* it must be made plain to the masses that the fascist bourgeoisie uses the pretext of defending the national interests to carry out its sordid class policy of oppressing and exploiting its own people as well as robbing and enslaving other peoples. They must be shown that the working class, which fights against every form of servitude and national oppression, is *the only genuine protagonist of national freedom and the independence of the people.* The Communists must in every way combat the fascist falsification of the history of the people, and do everything to enlighten the toiling masses on the past of their own people in an historically correct fashion, in the true spirit of Lenin and Stalin, so as to link up their present struggle with the revolutionary traditions of the past. The Congress warns against adopting a disparaging attitude on the question of national independence and the national sentiments of the broad masses of the people, an attitude which renders it easier for fascism to develop its chauvinist campaigns (the Saar, the German regions in Czechoslovakia, etc.), and insists on a correct and concrete application of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy.

While Communists are irreconcilable opponents, on principle, of bourgeois nationalism of every variety, they are by no means supporters of national nihilism, of an attitude of unconcern for the fate of their own people.

2. Communists must enter all *fascist mass organizations* which have a monopoly of legal existence in the given country, and must make use of even the smallest legal or semi-legal opportunity of working in them, in order to counterpose the interests of the masses in these organizations to the policy of fascism, and to undermine the mass basis of the latter. Beginning with the most elementary movements of protest around the urgent needs of the toilers, the Communists must use flexible tactics to draw ever wider masses into the movement, especially workers who by reason of their lack of class consciousness still follow the fascists. As the movement gains in width and depth, the slogans of the struggle must be changed, while preparing to smash the fascist bourgeois dictatorship with the aid of the very masses who are in the fascist organizations.

3. While vigorously and consistently defending the interests and

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demands of the unemployed, while organizing and leading them in the fight for work, for adequate relief, insurance, etc., the Communists must draw the unemployed into the united front movement and use all means to force out the influence of fascism among them. At the same time it is necessary to take strictly into account the specific interests of the various categories of unemployed (skilled and unskilled workers, organized and unorganized, men and women, youth, etc.).

4. The Congress emphatically calls the attention of all Communist Parties of the capitalist countries to the exceptional role of the youth in the struggle against fascism. It is from among the youth mainly that fascism recruits its shock detachments. In fighting against any underestimation of the importance of *mass work among the toiling youth,* and taking effective steps to overcome the secludedness of the Young Communist League organizations, the Communist Parties must do everything to help unite the forces of all non-fascist mass youth organizations, including youth organizations of the trade unions, cooperative societies, etc., on the basis of the broadest united front, including the formation of various kinds of common organizations for the struggle against fascism, against the unprecedented manner in which the youth is being stripped of every right, against the militarization of the youth, and for the economic and cultural interests of the young generation. The task of creating an anti-fascist association of Communist and Socialist youth leagues on the platform of the class struggle must be brought to the fore.

The Communist Parties must give every assistance in the development and consolidation of the Young Communist Leagues.

5. The vital necessity of drawing the millions of toiling *women* into the united people's front, primarily women workers and toiling peasant women, irrespective of the political and religious views they hold, requires that the Communists intensify their activity for the purpose of developing the mass movement of the toiling women around the struggle for their urgent demands and interests, particularly in the struggle against the high cost of living, against inequality in the status of women and their fascist enslavement, against mass dismissals, for higher wages on the principle of "equal pay for equal work", and against the war danger. Flexible use must be made, in every country and on an international scale, of the most varied organizational forms to establish contacts between and bring about joint action of the revolutionary, Social-Democratic and progressive women's organizations, while ensuring freedom of opinion and criticism, without hesitating to form also separate women's organizations wherever this may become necessary.

6. Communists must carry on a struggle to draw the cooperative organizations into the ranks of the united front of the proletariat and of the anti-fascist people's front.

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The most active assistance must be rendered by Communists in the struggle of the cooperative societies for the urgent interests of their members, especially in the fight against high prices, for credits, against the introduction of predatory duties and new taxes, against the restrictions imposed on the activities of the cooperative societies and their destruction by the fascists, etc.

7. The Communists must take the initiative in establishing *anti-fascist mass defense corps* against the attacks of the fascist bands, recruiting these corps from reliable, tested elements of the united front movement.

V. THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST PEOPLE'S FRONT IN THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES

In the *colonial and semi-colonial countries*, the most important task facing the Communists consists in working to establish *an anti-imperialist people's front*. For this purpose it is necessary to draw the widest masses into the national liberation movement against growing imperialist exploitation, against cruel enslavement, for the driving out of the imperialists, for the independence of the country; to take an active part in the mass anti-imperialist movements headed by the national reformists and strive to bring about joint action with the national-revolutionary and national-reformist organizations on the basis of a definite anti-imperialist platform.

In China, the extension of the Soviet movement and the strengthening of the fighting power of the Red Army must be combined with the development of the people's anti-imperialist movement all over the country. This movement must be carried on under the slogan of the national-revolutionary struggle of the armed people against the imperialist enslavers, in the first place against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese servitors. The Soviets must become the rallying center for the entire Chinese people in its struggle for emancipation.

In the interests of its own struggle for emancipation, the proletariat of the imperialist countries must give its unstinted support to the liberation struggle of the colonial anad semi-colonial peoples against the imperialist pirates.

VI. THE STRENGTHENING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE POLITICAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

The Congress emphasizes with particular stress that only *the further all-round consolidation of the Communist Parties themselves*, the development of their initiative, the carrying out of a policy based on Marxist-Leninist principles, and the application of correct flexible tactics, which take into account the concrete situation and the alignment of class forces, can ensure the mobilization of the widest masses

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of toilers for the united struggle against fascism, against capitalism.

In order that the united front may be really brought about, the Communists must overcome the self-satisfied *sectarianism* in their own ranks which in our day is, in a number of cases, no longer an "infantile disorder" of the Communist movement but an ingrained vice. By overestimating the degree of revolutionization of the masses, by creating the illusion that the path to fascism had already been barred while the fascist movement was continuing to grow, this sectarianism actually fostered passivity in relation to fascism. In practice it replaced the methods of leading masses by the methods of leading a narrow party group, substituted abstract propaganda and Left doctrinairism for a mass policy, refusing to work in the reformist trade unions and fascist mass organizations and adopting stereotyped tactics and slogans for all countries without taking account of the special features of the concrete situation in each particular country. This sectarianism to a great extent retarded the growth of the Communist Parties, made it difficult for a genuine mass policy to be carried out and hindered these Parties in making use of the difficulties of the class enemy to strengthen the revolutionary movement, hindered the cause of winning over the wide masses of the proletariat to the side of the Communist Parties.

While carrying on a most energetic struggle to root out all vestiges of sectarianism, which at the present moment is a most serious obstacle to the pursuing of a real mass Bolshevik policy by the Communist Parties, the Communists must increase their vigilance in guarding against the danger of *Right opportunism*, and must carry on a determined struggle against all its concrete manifestations, bearing in mind that the *Right danger will grow* as the tactics of the united front are widely applied. The struggle for the establishment of the united front, the unity of action of the working class, gives rise to the necessity that the Social-Democratic workers be convinced by object lessons of the correctness of the Communist policy and the incorrectness of the reformist policy, and charges every Communist Party to wage an irreconcilable struggle against any tendency to gloss over the differences in principles between Communism and reformism, against weakening the criticism of Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, against the illusion that it is possible to bring about socialism by peaceful, legal methods, against any reliance on *automatism* or *spontaneity*, whether in the liquidation of fascism or in the realization of the united front, against belittling the role of the Party and against the slightest *vacillation at the moment of decisive action*.

Holding that the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat and the success of the proletarian revolution make it imperative that

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a single mass political party of the working class exist in every country, the Congress sets the Communist Parties the task of taking the initiative in bringing about this unity, relying on the growing desire of the workers to unite the Social-Democratic Parties or individual organizations with the Communist Parties. At the same time it must be explained to the workers without fail that such unity is possible only under certain conditions: under the condition of *complete independence from the bourgeoisie and the complete severance of the bloc between Social-Democracy and the bourgeoisie*, under the condition that *unity of action* be first brought about, that the necessity of the *revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets* be recognized, that support of one's own bourgeoisie in *imperialist war* be rejected, and that the party be constructed on the basis of *democratic centralism* which ensures unity of will and action and has been tested by the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks.

At the same time it is necessary to act resolutely against the attempts of the "Left" Social-Democratic demagogues to utilize the disillusionment among the Social-Democratic workers to form new Socialist Parties and a new "International" which are directed against the Communist movement and thus widen the split in the working class.

Considering that unity of action is an urgent necessity and the surest way to bring about the political unity of the proletariat, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares in the name of all Sections of the Communist International that they are ready to begin immediate negotiations with the corresponding parties of the Second International for the establishment of unity of action of the working class against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the threat of imperialist war, and likewise declares that *the Communist International is prepared to enter into negotiations with the Second International directed to this end.*

VII. FOR SOVIET POWER

In the struggle to defend against fascism the bourgeois-democratic liberties and the gains of the toilers, in the struggle to overthrow fascist dictatorship, the revolutionary proletariat prepares its forces, strengthens its fighting contacts with its allies and directs the struggle toward the goal of achieving real democracy of the toilers —Soviet Power.

The further consolidation of the Land of the Soviets, the rallying of the world proletariat around it, and the mighty growth of the international authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the turn toward revolutionary class struggle which has set in

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among the Social-Democratic workers and the workers organized in the reformist trade unions, the increasing mass resistance to fascism and the growth of the revolutionary movement in the colonies, the decline of the Second International and the growth of the Communist International *are all accelerating and will continue to accelerate the development of the world socialist revolution.*

The capitalist world is entering a period of sharp clashes as a result of the accentuation of the internal and external contradictions of capitalism.

Steering a course in the direction of this perspective of the revolutionary development, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International calls on the Communist Parties to display the greatest political activity and daring, to carry on a tireless struggle to bring about unity of action by the working class. *The establishment of the united front of the working class is the decisive link in the preparation of the toilers for the forthcoming great battles of the second round of proletarian revolution.* Only the welding of the proletariat into a single mass political army will ensure its victory in the struggle against fascism and the power of capital, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the Soviets.

"The victory of revolution never comes by itself. It has to be prepared for and won. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare for and win victory." (Stalin.)

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The Tasks of the Communist International in Connection with the Preparations of the Imperialists for a New World War

(Resolution on the Report of M. Ercoli Adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International on August 20, 1935)

I. THE PREPARATION OF WAR FOR A NEW REPARTITION OF THE WORLD

THE world economic crisis and the shattering of capitalist stabilization have given rise to the extreme instability of all international relations. The intensified struggle on the world market, which has shrunk extremely as a result of the economic crisis, has passed into fierce economic war. *A new repartition of the world has actually already begun.*

Japanese imperialism, waging war in the Far East, has already made a start toward a new repartition of the world. The military occupation of Manchuria and North China signifies the virtual annulment of the *Washington Treaties* which regulated the division of the spheres of influence among the imperialist powers in China and their mutual relations in the Pacific. Japan's predatory expedition is already leading to the weakening of the influence of British and American imperialism in China, is menacing the position of Great Britain and the U.S.A. in the Pacific and is a preparation for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

All that is left of the *Versailles Treaty* is state frontiers and the distribution of mandates for colonies. The liquidation of the Versailles Treaty took place as a result of the stoppage of reparation payments, the re-establishment of universal conscription by the Hitler government, and also the conclusion of a naval agreement between Britain and Germany.

Being the chief instigators of war, the German fascists, who strive for the hegemony of German imperialism in Europe, raise the question of changing the boundaries of Europe at the expense of their neighbors by means of war. The adventurist plans of the German fascists are very far-reaching and count on a war of revenge against France, dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, annexation of Austria, destruction of the independence of the Baltic states,

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which they are striving to convert into a base for attack on the Soviet Union, and the wresting of the Soviet Ukraine from the U.S.S.R. They are demanding colonies and are endeavoring to arouse moods in favor of a world war for a new repartition of the world. All these intrigues of the reckless inciters of war help to intensify the contradictions between the capitalist states and create disturbance throughout Europe.

German imperialism has found an ally in Europe—*fascist Poland*, which is also striving to extend its territory at the expense of Czechoslovakia, the Baltic countries and the Soviet Union.

The dominant circles of the *British bourgeoisie* support the German armaments in order to weaken the hegemony of France on the European continent, to turn the spearhead of German armaments from the West to the East and to direct Germany's aggressiveness against the Soviet Union. By this policy Great Britain is striving to set up a counterbalance to the United States on a world-wide scale and, simultaneously, to strengthen the anti-Soviet tendencies not only of Germany but also of Japan and Poland. This policy of British imperialism is one of the factors accelerating the outbreak of a world imperialist war.

Italian imperialism is directly proceeding to seizure of Abyssinia, thus creating new tension in the relations between the great imperialist powers.

The main contradiction in the camp of the imperialists is the Anglo-American antagonism which exerts its influence on all the contradictions in world politics. In South America, where the hostile interests of Great Britain and the United States clash most sharply, this antagonism led to wars between the respective South American vassals of these powers (between Bolivia and Paraguay, Colombia and Peru), and threatens further armed conflicts in South and Central America (Colombia and Venezuela).

At a time when particularly the fascist states—Germany, Poland, Hungary, Italy—are openly striving for a new repartition of the world and a change in the frontiers of Europe, there is a tendency among a number of other countries to maintain the *status quo*. At the present time this tendency is represented on a world scale by the United States; in Europe, primarily by France; the efforts of these two leading imperialist powers to maintain the *status quo* are supported by several smaller countries (the Little and Balkan Ententes, some of the Baltic states), whose independence is threatened by a new imperialist war.

The victory of German National-Socialism, the most reactionary, the most aggressive form of fascism, and its war provocations have spurred on the war parties, which represent the most reactionary

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and chauvinist elements of the bourgeoisie, in all countries to fight more vigorously for power and to intensify the fascization of the state apparatus.

The frantic arming of fascist Germany, especially the restoration of military conscription and the enormous increase of the navy and air fleet in Germany, have given rise to a new, intensified race for *armaments* throughout the capitalist world. Despite the world economic crisis, the war industry flourishes more than ever before. The countries which have gone furthest in preparing for war (Germany, Japan, Italy, Poland) have already placed their national economy on a war footing. Alongside the regular armies, special fascist detachments are trained to safeguard the rear and to do gendarme service at the front. Pre-conscription training is widespread in all capitalist countries, and even includes juveniles. *Education* and *propaganda* in the spirit of chauvinism and racial demagogy are encouraged in every way, their cost being defrayed by the government.

Although the acuteness of the imperialist contradictions renders the formation of an anti-Soviet *bloc* difficult at the present moment, the fascist governments and war parties in the capitalist countries endeavor to solve these contradictions at the expense of the fatherland of all the toilers, at the expense of the Soviet Union. The danger of the outbreak of a new imperialist war daily threatens humanity.

II. ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

On the basis of the rapid rise of socialist industry and agriculture, on the basis of the liquidation of the last capitalist class—the kulaks, on the basis of the final victory of socialism over capitalism and the strengthening of the defensive power of the country resulting therefrom, *the mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries have entered a new phase.*

The basic contradiction, that between the socialist and the capitalist world, has become still more acute. But due to its growing might, the Soviet Union has been able to avert the attack that was already prepared by the imperialist powers and their vassals, and to unfold its consistent policy of peace directed against all instigators of war. This has made the Soviet Union the center of attraction not only for class-conscious workers, but for all the toiling people in the capitalist and colonial countries who strive for peace. Moreover, the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. has not only upset the plans of the imperialists to isolate the Soviet Union, but has laid the basis for its cooperation in the cause of the preservation of peace *with the small states* for whom war, by placing their independence in jeopardy, represents a special danger, as well as with those governments which at the *present moment* are interested in the preservation of peace.

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The peace policy of the U.S.S.R., putting forward proletarian internationalism as against national and racial dissension, is not only directed towards defense of the Soviet country, towards ensuring the safety of socialist construction; it also protects the lives of the workers of all countries, the lives of all the oppressed and exploited; it means the defense of the national independence of small nations, it serves the vital interests of humanity, it defends culture from the barbarities of war.

At the time when a new war between the imperialist states is approaching ever more closely, the might of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army of the U.S.S.R. is constantly gaining in importance in the struggle for peace. Under the circumstances of a frantic increase in armaments by the imperialist countries, especially on the part of Germany, Japan and Poland, all those who are striving to preserve peace are vitally interested in strengthening and actively supporting the Red Army.

III. THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

On the basis of the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin on war, the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International concretely formulated the tasks of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary proletariat in the struggle against imperialist war. Guided by these principles, the Communist Parties of Japan and China, both directly affected by war, have waged and are waging a Bolshevik struggle against imperialist war and for defense of the Chinese people. *The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, confirming the decision of the Sixth Congress on the struggle against imperialist war*, sets the following main tasks before the Communist Parties, revolutionary workers, toilers, peasants and oppressed peoples of the whole world:

1. *The struggle for peace, and for the defense of the U.S.S.R.* In face of the war provocations of the German fascists and Japanese militarists, and the speeding up of armaments by the war parties in the capitalist countries, in face of the immediate danger of a counter-revolutionary war breaking out against the Soviet Union, the *central slogan* of the Communist Parties must be: struggle for peace.

2. *The united people's front in the struggle for peace and against the instigators of war.* The struggle for peace opens up before the Communist Parties the greatest opportunities for creating the broadest united front. All those interested in the preservation of peace should be drawn into this united front. The concentration of forces against the chief instigators of war at any given moment (at the present time—against fascist Germany, and against Poland and Japan which are in league with it) constitutes a most important

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tactical task of the Communist Parties. It is of especially great importance for the Communist Party of Germany to expose the national demagogy of Hitler fascism, which screens itself behind phrases about the unification of the German people but in fact leads to the isolation of the German people and to a new war catastrophe. The indispensable condition and prerequisite for the unification of the German people lies in the overthrow of Hitler fascism. The establishment of a united front with Social-Democratic and reformist organizations (party, trade unions, cooperative, sport, and cultural and educational organizations) and with the bulk of their members, as well as with mass national-liberation, religious-democratic and pacifist organizations and their adherents, is of decisive importance for the struggle against war and its fascist instigators in all countries.

The formation of a united front with *Social-Democratic and reformist organizations* for the struggle for peace necessitates a determined ideological struggle against reactionary elements within the Social-Democratic Parties which, in face of the immediate danger of war, proceed to collaborate even more closely with the bourgeoisie for the defense of the bourgeois fatherland and by their campaigns of slander against the Soviet Union directly aid the preparations for an anti-Soviet war. It necessitates close collaboration with those forces in the Social-Democratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other mass labor organizations whose position is approaching ever closer to that of revolutionary struggle against imperialist war.

The drawing of pacifist organizations and their adherents into the united front of struggle for peace acquires great importance in mobilizing the petty-bourgeois masses, progressive intellectuals, women and youth against war. While constantly subjecting the erroneous views of sincere pacifists to constructive criticism, and vigorously combating those pacifists who by their policy screen the preparations of the German fascists for imperialist war (the leadership of the Labor Party in Great Britain, etc.), the Communists must invite the collaboration of all pacifist organizations that are prepared to go with them even if only part of the way towards a genuine struggle against imperialist wars.

The Communists must support the Amsterdam-Pleyel anti-war and anti-fascist movement by active collaboration with it and help to extend it.

3. *The combination of the struggle against imperialist war with the struggle against fascism.* The anti-war struggle of the masses striving to preserve peace must be very closely combined with the struggle against fascism and the fascist movement. It is necessary to conduct not only general propaganda for peace, but primarily propaganda directed against the chief instigators of war, against the

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fascist and other imperialist war parties, and against concrete measures of preparation for imperialist war.

4. *The struggle against militarism and armaments.* The Communist Parties of all capitalist countries must fight: against military expenditures (war budgets), for the recall of military forces from the colonies and mandated territories, against militarization measures taken by capitalist governments, especially the militarization of the youth, women and the unemployed, against emergency decrees restricting bourgeois-democratic liberties with the aim of preparing for war; against restricting the rights of workers employed in war industry plants; against subsidizing the war industry and against trading in or transporting arms. The struggle against war preparation measures can be conducted only in closest connection with the defense of the economic interest and political rights of the workers, office employees, toiling peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie.

5. *The struggle against chauvinism.* In the struggle against chauvinism the task of the Communists consists in educating the workers and the whole of the toiling population in the spirit of *proletarian internationalism*, which can be accomplished only in the struggle against the exploiters and oppressors for the vital class interests of the proletariat, as well as in the struggle against the bestial chauvinism of the National-Socialist parties and all other fascist parties. At the same time the Communists must show that the working class carries on a consistent struggle in defense of the national freedom and independence of all the people against any oppression or exploitation, because only the Communist policy defends to the very end the national freedom and independence of the people of its country.

6. *The national liberation struggle and the support of wars of national liberation.* If any weak state is attacked by one or more big imperialist powers which want to destroy its national independence and national unity or to dismember it, as in the historic instance of the partition of Poland, a war conducted by the national bourgeoisie of such a country to repel this attack may assume the character of a war of liberation, in which the working class and the Communists of that country cannot abstain from intervening. It is the task of the Communists of such a country, while carrying on an irreconcilable struggle to safeguard the economic and political positions of the workers, toiling peasants and national minorities, to be, at the same time, in the front ranks of the fighters for national independence and to wage the war of liberation to a finish, without allowing "their" bourgeoisie to strike a bargain with the attacking powers at the expense of the interests of their country.

It is the duty of the Communists actively to support the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of the colonial and semi-

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colonial countries, especially the Red Army of the Chinese Soviets in their struggle against the Japanese and other imperialists and the Kuomintang. The Communist Party of China must exert every effort to extend the front of the struggle for national liberation and to draw into it all the national forces that are ready to repulse the robber campaign of the Japanese and other imperialists.

IV. FROM THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE TO THE STRUGGLE FOR REVOLUTION

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International most determinedly repudiates the slanderous contention that Communists desire war, expecting it to bring revolution. The leading role of the Communist Parties of all countries in the struggle for the preservation of peace, for the triumph of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, proves that the Communists are striving with all their might to obstruct the preparations for and the unleashing of a new war.

The Communists, while fighting also against the illusions that war can be eliminated while the capitalist system still exists, exert and will exert every effort to prevent war. Should a new imperialist world war break out, despite all efforts of the working class to prevent it, the Communists will strive to lead the opponents of war, organized in the struggle for peace, to the struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war against the fascist instigators of war, against the bourgeoisie, for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Congress at the same time warns Communists and revolutionary workers against anarcho-syndicalist methods of struggle against war, which take the form of refusing to appear for military service, the form of a so-called boycott of mobilization, of committing sabotage in war plants, etc. The Congress considers that such methods of struggle only do harm to the proletariat. The Russian Bolsheviks who, during the World War, fought energetically against war and were for the defeat of the Russian government, rejected such methods; these methods merely make it easier for the bourgeoisie to take repressive measures against Communists and revolutionary workers, and prevent the latter from winning over the toiling masses, especially the soldier masses, to the side of the mass struggle against imperialist war and for its transformation into civil war against the bourgeoisie.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in outlining the tasks of the Communist Parties and of the entire working class in the event of war, bases itself upon the thesis advanced by Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg and adopted by the Stuttgart Congress of the pre-war Second International:

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> "If, nevertheless, war breaks out, it is their duty to work for its speedy termination and to strive with all their might to utilize the economic and political crisis produced by the war to rouse the political consciousness of the masses of the people and thereby hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule."

And the present historical juncture, when on one-sixth part of the globe the Soviet Union defends socialism and peace for all humanity, the most vital interests of the workers and toilers of all countries demand that in pursuing the policy of the working class, in waging the struggle for peace, the struggle against imperialist war before and after the outbreak of hostilities, the defense of the Soviet Union must be considered paramount.

If the commencement of a counter-revolutionary war forces the Soviet Union to set the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in motion for the defense of socialism, the Communists will call upon all toilers *to work, with all means at their disposal and at any price, for the victory of the Red Army over the armies of the imperialists.*

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The Victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and Its World Historic Significance

(Resolution on the Report of D. Z. Manuilsky, Adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International on August 20, 1935)

HAVING heard Comrade Manuilsky's report on *the results of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.*, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International notes with profound satisfaction that, under the leadership of the C.P.S.U., the final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the all-round consolidation of the State of the proletarian dictatorship have been achieved as a result of carrying through the socialist reconstruction of national economy, of accomplishing the collectivization of agriculture, of squeezing out the capitalist elements and liquidating the kulaks as a class.

1. *Socialist industrialization has been successfully carried through.* The U.S.S.R. has changed from an economically and technically backward agrarian country into a great, advanced, industrial country with its iron and steel production, machinery construction, aviation, automobile and tractor industry, and is becoming a country of electric power and chemical industries. The U.S.S.R. is in a position to manufacture any machine and any instrument of production in its plants. Big industrial towns have sprung up in formerly uninhabited places. The old industrial areas are expanding and new ones are being created. The formerly backward outlying regions and the erstwhile tsarist colonies are being successfully industrialized and, as a result, are being transformed into flourishing, advanced, industrial national republics and territories. Highly qualified cadres of technicians, organizers and executives have been trained for the numerous and diversified industries and processes of production. The successes already achieved provide new great possibilities for the further growth of the industrialization of the entire national economy of the U.S.S.R.

2. *The greatest revolution has been successfully accomplished in the countryside—the collectivization of agriculture.* With the triumph of the collective farm system, the most difficult task, that of turning the vast majority of the peasantry onto the path of socialist development, has been solved in practice. Large-scale mechanized

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agriculture, organized along socialist lines, has been established. The network of machine and tractor stations is extending. The Soviet (state) farms are gaining strength. The material and productive advantages of the collective farm system have already become a stimulus to the further consolidation of the collective farms and extension of voluntary collectivization. The grain problems has been solved. Livestock raising has improved and is steadily on the upgrade. Thanks to the collective and state farms, the existence of vast stretches of hitherto uncultivated fertile soil and the turn to intensive methods of agriculture, accompanied by an ever-increasing application of technique and scientific principles of farming, guarantee the possibility of development of socialist agriculture in the U.S.S.R. on a tremendous scale.

3. *A radical improvement in the material conditions of the toilers in the U.S.S.R. and a tremendous rise of their cultural level have been achieved.* Unemployment has disappeared. Workers and office employees are growing in number and becoming more highly skilled. Wage and social insurance funds as well as individual wages and social insurance benefits are rising (sanitariums, rest homes, free medical aid, invalid and old-age pensions, etc.). The working day has been reduced to seven and six hours, and the conditions of labor are progressively improving. Food supply difficulties are being successfully overcome (abolition of bread cards; the growing supply of meats and fats for the toilers, as livestock raising keeps on developing). The big cities and industrial centers have changed their appearance. The housing and living conditions of the toilers are steadily improving; in place of the slums which are characteristic of the working class quarters in big cities and industrial centers under capitalism, spacious, light and sanitary workers' homes have already been built and more are being built. Thanks to the collectivization of agriculture and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, poverty has vanished in the villages, the peasants have secured the opportunity of a well-to-do life, and work under conditions which do not exhaust but invigorate them.

Solicitude for people, for the toilers, for cadres and, above all, solicitude for the children, occupies a central place in the activities of the Party, the state, the trade unions and all public organizations. The cultural level of the toilers is rising fast. In all the Republics of the Soviet Union universal compulsory elementary education has been introduced, conducted in the native national languages. Millions of children of the workers, peasants and office employees are studying in the secondary schools and universities. A vast network of educational institutions for children under school age, and a system of specialized evening schools, circles and courses for adults have been set up. Tens of thousands of clubs, theatres and cinema houses

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have been built in working class districts, at factories, in villages. The development and flourishing of the culture, national in form and socialist in content, of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. which were formerly oppressed, neglected and doomed to extinction, but are now free and equal, proceeds apace. Women actively participate in socialist construction on an equal footing with men. Young generations which have grown up under Soviet conditions, which have not known capitalist exploitation or want and deprivation of rights, and recognize only the interests, tasks and aims of socialism, are entering into the construction of socialism. Science and all forms of art have been made accessible to the broadest masses. Academicians, scientists, research workers, actors, writers, painters and masters of every other branch of art have turned to the side of the toilers. No matter how vast all these material and cultural achievements may be, compared with the recent past and with the position of the toilers in capitalist countries today, they represent merely the beginning of that splendid near future, flourishing in every way and abounding in universal well-being, toward which the Land of Socialism is advancing.

4. *A great political consolidation of the State of the proletarian dictatorship has been achieved.* The Land of the Soviets has the most stable and most impregnable political order. It is a state of developed democracy, not divorced from the masses of the people nor placed in opposition to them, but organically connected with them, defending their interests, expressing their will and carrying it into effect. The profound, radical changes which have taken place in the social structure of the U.S.S.R. as a result of the socialist reconstruction of national economy, the elimination of the exploiting classes and the victory of the collective farm system, have brought about a further expansion and strengthening of the social foundation of the Soviet Power. In accordance with these changes and relying on the increased confidence of the broad masses in the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Government has carried out new measures of great historic significance in introducing a further democratization of its system: the substitution of equal suffrage for the previously not entirely equal suffrage, direct for indirect elections, the secret for the open ballot; the extension of electoral rights to include new sections of the adult population, re-enfranchisement of those of the former kulaks who have been deprived of the vote but who have since shown in actual fact, by honest labor, that they have ceased to fight against the Soviet order. The dictatorship of the proletariat is steadily developing along the path of constantly strengthening and widening the direct connection of the Soviet state with the masses of the people, with the overwhelming majority of the population, the path of enhancing the all-round and active direct participation of the masses of the people in the administration of the state and the direc-

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tion of socialist construction. The development of proletarian democracy which has been attained as a consequence of the liquidation of the exploiting classes, the consolidation of socialist ownership as the basis of Soviet society and the realization of the unity of interests of the vast majority of the population in all the Republics of the Soviet Union, enormously strengthens the State of the proletarian dictatorship.

True to its principles of the brotherhood, freedom and independence of all peoples and nations, the Soviet Union unswervingly fights for the preservation of peace between nations, exposes the aggressive plans of the imperialist robbers and takes all the necessary steps to ensure the defense of the socialist fatherland of the toilers of the whole world against the menace of a predatory attack by the imperialists. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International records with satisfaction that in place of old tsarist Russia, a country beaten by all, and in place of the weak Soviet country which, in the early days of its development, was faced with the possibility of being partitioned by the imperialists, *a mighty socialist state* has now arisen.

The U.S.S.R. is becoming a country of the new man, of a new social and individual mode of life of people. In the great workshop of planned socialist labor, founded on socialist competition, on shock work and the creative initiative of the masses, a great process of remaking people is taking place. The mercenary and anti-social, private property ethics and habits inherited from capitalism are gradually vanishing. The atmosphere of enthusiastic socialist labor facilitates the re-education of criminals and law-breakers. The principle of the inviolability of public property is being instilled in every branch of national economy in town and village. The public opinion of the toiling masses and the practice of self-criticism have become a mighty factor for moral influence for bringing up people and re-educating them. On the basis of the new attitude towards labor and society that is gaining firm hold, a new mode of life is being created, the consciousness and psychology of people are becoming reshaped, new generations, healthy, able-bodied, and versatilely developed, are coming into being. From the very midst of the people, organizers, leaders, inventors, bold explorers of the uncharted elements of the Arctic, heroic conquerors of the atmosphere, the air and the depths of the sea, of the summits of mountains and the bowels of the earth, are coming forth in vast numbers. Millions of toilers are storming and mastering the hitherto inaccessible citadels of technique, science and art. The U.S.S.R. is becoming a country of new people, full of purpose, buoyancy and the joy of living, surmounting all difficulties and performing great feats.

5. *The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. was achieved in a determined struggle by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*

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against Right and "Left" opportunism, in a stubborn and protracted struggle to overcome enormous difficulties, which arose because of the low level of technical and economic development inherited by the country and because of the need to achieve, in a brief space of time, by its own forces and means, and under conditions of hostile encirclement by imperialists, the reconstruction of the technical foundation of national economy and the fundamental reorganization of its social and economic relations. Carrying out this readjustment, and especially the rebuilding of the technical base of agriculture, which was connected with the uniting of small peasant households into large collective farms and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, meant a resolute attack by the proletariat on the capitalist elements. As they lost every economic foundation, the remnants of the exploiting classes, backed by the imperialists, offered desperate resistance, resorted to sabotage, wrecking, the burning of crops, the disruption of sowing campaigns, the extermination of cattle, etc. The proletariat succeeded in crushing the resistance of its enemies, creating a powerful socialist industry, consolidating the collective farm system, surmounting the difficulties connected with the need for rapid advancement of national economy. *The possibility of building up socialism in a single country, brilliantly foreseen by Lenin and Stalin, has become a reality, palpable and tangible, for millions of people throughout the world. The historic question of "who will win" inside the country, the question of the victory of socialism over capitalism in the U.S.S.R. has been finally and irrevocably decided in favor of socialism.* This does not exclude the possibility that the survivors of the routed class enemy, who have lost all hope of preventing the development of socialism, will do whatever harm they can to the workers and collective farmers of the U.S.S.R.

The further development of triumphant socialism will be accompanied in the U.S.S.R. by difficulties of a different order, difficulties arising out of the need to overcome the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people! With the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., the world proletarian revolution has gained an impregnable position in the sharpening struggle to decide the question "who will win" on the international arena.

6. *The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is a victory of world importance. Gained, with the support of the international proletariat, by the workers and collective farmers of the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the best companion-in-arms of the great Lenin, the wise leader of the toilers of the whole world, Comrade Stalin, the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is causing a profound change in the minds of the toilers of the whole world;* it is convincing the broad mases of Social-Democratic workers and workers of other

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trends of the necessity of waging a common struggle for socialism, and is a decisive factor in the realization of proletarian fighting unity; it is destroying ideas and conceptions, embedded for centuries, of the capitalist order being eternal and unshakable, is revealing the bankruptcy of bourgeois theories and the schemes to "rejuvenate" capitalist society, *is having a revolutionizing effect on the toiling masses, instilling into them confidence in their own strength and a conviction of the necessity and practical possibility of the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialism.* The road of salvation, the road to socialism already trodden by the living example of the U.S.S.R. is shining brightly before the eyes of millions of toilers in the capitalist and colonial countries, of all the exploited and oppressed.

The Soviet socialist order guarantees:

To the workers—liberation from the horrors of unemployment and capitalist exploitation, the opportunity to work for themselves and not for exploiters, for parasites; to administer the state and national economy, to steadily improve their material conditions, to lead a cultured life.

To the peasants—land and emancipation from their bondage to landlords, moneylenders, bankers, from unbearable taxes, liberation from crises, ruin, degradation and destitution, a steady rise in their prosperity and cultural standards, and a thoroughgoing lightening of their labor.

To the petty-bourgeois folk of the towns—liberation from the nightmare of bankruptcy, from the oppression of big capital, from ruin and degeneration, and the opportunity of finding a place as honest toilers in the system of socialist economy, of bringing about a radical improvement in their material and spiritual life.

To the intellectuals—the necessary conditions and the widest scope for the perfection of their knowledge, capabilities and talents, great impulses and wide horizons for creative work, a radical improvement in their material and cultural life.

To peoples of the colonies and dependencies—national emancipation from the yoke of the imperialists, the possibility of rapidly raising their national economy to the level of the most advanced countries, the advancement and flourishnig of their national culture, free and equal active participation in international life.

7. *With the victory of socialism, the U.S.S.R. has become a great political, economic and cultural force which influences world policy. It has become the center of attraction and the rallying point for all peoples, countries and even governments which are interested in the preservation of international peace. It has become the stronghold of the toilers of all countries against the menace of war. It*

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has become a mighty weapon for consolidating the toilers of the whole world against world reaction.

The victory of socialism, having transformed the U.S.S.R. into a force which sets in motion broad strata of the population, classes, nations, peoples and states, marks *a new great change in the relationship of class forces on a world scale in favor of socialism, to the detriment of capitalism; it marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of the world proletarian revolution.*

From the historic balance of achievements secured since the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, with which the world proletarian movement is approaching the second round of wars and revolutions and which *determines the basic tasks of the world proletarian revolution,* follows the primary duty of the working class and the toilers of the world and of all Sections of the C.I.:

To help with all their might and by all means to strengthen the U.S.S.R. and to fight against the enemies of the U.S.S.R. Both under peace conditions and in the circumstances of war directed against the U.S.S.R. the interests of strengthening the U.S.S.R., of increasing its power, of ensuring its victory in all spheres and in every sector of the struggle, coincide fully and inseparably with the interests of the toilers of the whole world in their struggle against the exploiters with the interests of the colonial and oppressed peoples fighting against imperialism; they are the conditions for, and they contribute to, the triumph of the world proletarian revolution, the victory of socialism throughout the world. Assistance to the U.S.S.R., its defense, and cooperation in bringing about its victory over all its enemies must therefore determine the actions of every revolutionary organization of the proletariat, of every genuine revolutionary, of every Socialist, Communist, non-party worker, toiling peasant, of every honest intellectual and democrat, of each and every one who desires the overthrow of exploitation, fascism and imperialist oppression, deliverance from imperialist war, who desires that there should exist brotherhood and peace among nations, that socialism should triumph throughout the world.

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Forward to the Cuban Anti-Imperialist People's Front!

By BLAS ROCA

(*Speech of the Delegate of the Communist Party of Cuba at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International*)

THE Cuban delegation to the Seventh Congress expresses its full agreement with the line contained in the report of Comrade Dimitroff, and with the draft resolution under discussion by the Congress. The speech of Comrade Dimitroff not only has developed brilliantly a broad and bold tactic in the application of the broadest anti-fascist united front in the capitalist countries, but it also contains most valuable suggestions and teachings for the achievement of the most important tasks in the struggle against imperialism in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The Cuban delegation also wishes to greet, and to express its agreement with, the brilliant speech of Comrade Wan Ming, who, in a masterly manner and in line with the resolutions and the spirit of this historic Seventh World Congress of our beloved Communist International, has developed the most important tasks arising in our countries at this time, and who has brought us the lessons of the heroic Communist Party of China.

In the light of the experiences of the Cuban Party, we wish to concretize some points of the report of Dimitroff and the contribution of Wan Ming, especially those referring to the tasks of the Communist Parties of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Comrade Dimitroff declared in his report, and it is stated in the draft resolution: "The most important task of the Communists in the colonial countries lies in the struggle to create the anti-imperialist popular front." This task is raised also for the semi-colonial countries, with special emphasis on the countries of the Caribbean, and still more sharply for Cuba.

What are the principal factors which, at the present moment and on the new basis, make such a task the most important one for the Caribbean countries, especially for Cuba?

First of all, we must bear in mind as a factor of prime im-

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portance the continuation of the economic crisis, especially severe in Cuba because of its monocultural character, and the intensification of the imperialist offensive for a greater economic enslavement of our country. Actually, the transition to a depression of a special type is characterized in Cuba by a halt in the giddy fall in production and a certain increase in the price of sugar, rather than by an increase in production. On the other hand, imperialism has tried and tries every day to impose new measures for greater enslavement and oppression of Cuba, for greater exploitation of the toiling masses of the country. The appearance of Japanese imperialism as an open competitor in the markets of Latin America, as well as the competition of English imperialism, causes Yankee imperialism to strengthen its offensive and to demand a greater servility from its national lackeys. The Reciprocity Treaty concluded between the national betrayal government of Mendieta-Batista with the United States is a treaty strengthening the imperialist yoke, is a treaty which will ruin the small national production, prevent or make enormously more difficult any plan for diversification of production, and leads to a strengthening of the monocultural character of the country.

The other most important factor in the new situation is the growing progress of the revolutionization of the masses and the beginning of the revolution in Cuba. In fact, if we examine the situation of the Caribbean countries in the recent past, we find in all of them a series of great anti-imperialist mass actions in which not only the proletariat participated, but also large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, and in some cases, including certain sectors of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, in a number of places, the peasants have organized struggles for a whole series of demands against the government and the landlords. On the other hand, we find a growing antagonism between certain strata of the national bourgeoisie and imperialism, and which expresses itself in Cuba by the struggles on the part of the Cuban planters and farmers against the Chadbourne Plan, by the demands of the industrialists against the Reciprocity Treaty, and by the measures of the Grau government which expressed the desires of certain strata of the national reformist bourgeoisie.

The third most important factor which sets this task in our countries is that our Parties are passing from the propaganda stage, from the formation of Communist proletarian cadres, to the stage of leadership of powerful mass struggles, to the stage of struggle for actual leadership of millions towards our objectives.

We believe that on these bases the need arises before the Communists of the colonial and semi-colonial countries for the application of the boldest tactic for the achievement of the anti-imperialist popular front, in order to carry forward the national liberation rev-

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olution and to facilitate the winning of hegemony by the proletariat and the passing to further stages of the revolution.

We wish to emphasize the basic importance of the task of organizing the anti-imperialist popular front, and how its underestimation, or any weakness in its execution, can lead to fatal conclusions for our Parties, and to their isolation from the masses.

The best example that could be presented to the Congress is that of Cuba, where the beginning of the revolution brought this task squarely to the forefront. Actually, the delay in raising this task as the most important question of the Cuban revolution and the timidity with which we have initiated the tactical turn worked out under the leadership of the Communist International, has brought a momentary victory to the pro-imperialist elements, who have been able to deal heavy blows at the Cuban revolution. The Cuban Party began to apply widely this new tactic only after the Conference of the Communist Parties of South and Caribbean America, held last year.

Our first united front attempts, our appeals to the national-reformist and national-revolutionary parties, as well as our work for the united front in our daily activities, was characterized even in February by a certain timidity, by the fact that the national question was not raised as the central question in its full meaning, in spite of which partial successes were obtained in the country.

In our proposals in February of this year to Guiteras, head of the national-revolutionary organization "Young Cuba", we laid down conditions which hindered the formation of the united front, but this was corrected in the first conversations of our delegates with him. Such slogans as the self determination of the Negro nation and the confiscation of the lands of the large estates have been withdrawn as conditions of the united front, bearing in mind that our most important task now is the organization of the *national front* for the unified struggle of the people of Cuba *against imperialism and the national traitors*, its open servants.

In the middle of these negotiations, when the united front had not yet been attained, came the great general strike of March, which was a powerful outburst of the growing hatred of the masses against the fierce reaction of the dictatorship of Mendieta-Batista-Caffery. In the preparation of the strike, as in its development, the Party exerted itself to achieve the united front, the beginning of the anti-imperialist popular front. Penetrating into the Committee for Proletarian Defense, set up by Joven Cuba with the support of certain reformist, anarcho-syndicalist, and Trotskyite leaders for the purpose of organizing a new "non-political" trade union center, we fought consistently and stubbornly for the adoption of a common agreement for the preparation of the general strike, for a joint strike appeal. This proved to be impossible, due to the sabotage of certain

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elements inside the Committee. Through holding a series of meetings with the representatives of the National Agrarian Party, while at the same time trying to contact Guiteras and the Cuban Revolutionary Party, we fought for a common decision before the strike, but without success. Likewise at the time of the strike, we called a meeting of the organizations on strike and the most important workers' organizations in order to adopt a joint list of demands and a date for the general strike. Such a united front could not be consolidated organizationally, particularly because of the attitude of the reformist leaders of the Railroad Brotherhood, who set as a condition for accepting the united front the establishment of the Strike Committee under its exclusive control.

Partly due to our weakness, but even more due to the attitude of certain leaders, the united front was not realized then, and the popular masses were mobilized for a truly powerful action which involved some 700,000 persons, divided and without a clearly defined objective. The strike resulted in a painful loss for the masses, who now feel on their shoulders the unloosing of the most barbarous terror, a terror never known before in Cuba, not even in the blackest days of the hated tyranny of Machado.

But our Party, when drawing the lessons of this gigantic battle, did not know how to explain clearly to the masses the principal reasons for their momentary and partial defeat, and above all did not know how to emphasize that, under the new conditions created after the strike, *the need for the united front is most urgent.* On the contrary, our Party drew such false conclusions on the position of the Cuban Revolutionary Party and Young Cuba as to say that they had passed over to the camp of the counter-revolution, betraying the struggle, which, to say the least, hindered and impeded the future development of the united front. The Party has committed such serious errors in its analysis as to estimate the Cuban Revolutionary Party and Young Cuba to be on the road of fascization. The Party has been timid in the application of the correct line given by the Communist International, because of the survival in the Party of mistaken concepts, rooted for years. This has produced a great confusion regarding the character of the present stage of the revolution in Cuba and has led to the disregard and the underestimation of the national stage of the revolution, when it is necessary to direct the main blow against imperialism and its native servants. Most dangerous has been the fact that these misconceptions were deep rooted and manifested themselves very sharply inside of the Central Committee itself, in the persons of some of the most influential members of the Party.

With the mighty assistance of the Communist International we have taken the road to finally root out of the Party such concepts

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and to end our weakness in the development of this important task.

Thus, in April of this year we went directly to Miami to visit the chief of the Cuban Revolutionary Party to propose the united front, and even though he refused to receive us, we (without calling him fascist!) addressed the masses and the Central Committee of his party for a united protest against the assassination of Guiteras and Carlos Aponte, anti-imperialist fighters with great influence among the national-reformist and national-revolutionary masses. We renewed in May our united front proposals, and in a number of places, as in Matanzas and Camaguey, joint protest actions were arranged. With the new proposal, we were successful in obtaining authorized delegates from the Cuban Revolutionary Party and Young Cuba to enter into conversations with our delegates on the united front.

Bearing in mind that in the jails of Cuba, in Castillo de Principe and the Isle of Pines, more than three thousand prisoners, Communist, Autentico, Guiterista, and non-party, are suffering the most barbarous punishment, our Communist Party supported the initiative of the International Labor Defense in forming a unified movement for amnesty for political and social prisoners, with the exception of the Machadistas. This has already transformed itself into a mass movement in Cuba with a Pro-Amnesty Committee with representatives of the Agrarian Party, the women Autenticas, the Cuban Revolutionary Party, Young Cuba, A.P.R.A. (American People's Revolutionary Association), National Confederation of Labor, the Communist Party, and other organizations, and has even been successful in having such elements as Menocal, head of the C.N.D. (old conservatives) make public declarations demanding an amnesty.

But the most important success in my opinion, we obtained recently when the Mendieta-Batista government announced its intention of holding elections in December, elections which under the conditions of sharpest terror and the absence of even the most elementary democratic rights, are an open mockery and deception of the masses, a sneer at the desire of the Cuban people for liberty and democracy.

We have addressed all of the anti-imperialist parties, *proposing to them the adoption of a joint tactic* in regard to the elections, with a proposal to participate on the basis of the formation of a united front with a single candidate, but pointing out that if in a meeting of these parties active sabotage of the elections were agreed upon through the formation of a front for common action, we are prepared to support such an attitude with all our forces. At the same time we sent a letter to Grau with the same proposals, indicating that we were ready to accept him as the sole candidate for president. On the other hand, we made an appeal to the masses on the basis of these proposals.

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We have appealed to the Autenticos, Guiteristas, and to all popular anti-imperialist parties and organizations to form, in opposition to the bloc of direct reactionary agents of Yankee imperialism, a strong union of the Cuban people, of *all those* who love the fatherland oppressed by Yankee imperialism, and who desire its liberation.

Our Party proposed Grau as the presidential candidate, carrying out the electoral campaign under a concrete anti-imperialist and democratic program which opens up before the whole people of Cuba the opportunity for seeing clearly the two roads: to vote for Cuba, against imperialism, or to vote against Cuba, for imperialism, for the betrayers of Cuba and the present bandits.

In spite of the fact that our Party considers participation in the elections the best tactic, it is ready to yield to the joint tactic of sabotaging the elections, placing in opposition to the election slogans of Mendieta, the slogan of the united front to overthrow Mendieta and to establish a popular anti-imperialist government, a national government. The Communist Party is not indifferent to this matter. It believes that it is necessary to participate in the elections, because a considerable part of the peasantry, of the Negro masses, and some sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, are inclined to participate, and the revolutionary parties ought to adjust their tactics to such a form that these masses will be *convinced* in the course of *their own experience* of the true character and meaning of the approaching elections in Cuba. If our Party yields to the tactic of sabotage, it does so only in the interests of the united front, in the interests of the sacred union of the people in order to save Cuba from the oppression and barbarism to which the present rulers subject it, believing that the union of the parties and organizations of the greatest influence and weight in the public opinion of the country will have such a drawing power that it will be capable of attracting to it the peasantry, the Negro masses, and the whole honest population of Cuba.

We have been able to hold two preliminary meetings on these proposals with the representatives of the six most important anti-imperialist parties, also including representatives of the students of the National University, closed and trampled underfoot by Batista and his helpers. In these meetings the following main conclusions were agreed upon:

> "1. These meetings here consider as necessary and indispensable the establishment of the united front to adopt a common position in regard to the elections.
>
> "2. We pledge that, respecting the limits of the discipline of our parties, we will do everything possible to see that such a point of view is adopted by our respective central committees.
>
> "3 To hold another meeting within a week in order to come to an authorized decision on these questions."

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These proposals have given us a powerful weapon in the struggle for the united front. They will serve and are serving already for the mobilization of the masses of the Autenticos and Guiteristas in the broadest support of our united front proposals. They have won over a certain part of the leading circles of the other parties to fight inside of them for the idea of the united front, of unity of action. With these proposals we have taken away important arms from those elements among the Guiteristas and Autenticos opposed to the united front, showing palpably that we do not want to make some kind of a maneuver, but that our Party is fighting for the sacred union of the people of Cuba, of all its parties and organizations which are willing to struggle against the imperialist oppressor, who signifies retrogression and barbarism for Cuba, closes schools and universities in order to open barracks and establish jails, persecutes the press and the protagonists of the truth and national honor.

But we are beginning to have serious successes in the united front only because: first, we have undertaken the hardest struggle for the organization of common actions and agreements among the masses; second, we formulated a program of simple demands, clear and easily understood, for the masses, which includes their most urgent economic and political demands, under the principal slogans: "For the Overthrow of the Reactionary Government of Mendieta-Batista", "For a Popular Anti-Imperialist Government", "Cuba for the Cubans", "Drive Yankee Imperialism Out of Cuba", "Drive Caffery Out of Cuba". Only the correct combination of the most burning demands of the masses, of all the oppressed strata of the Cuban people, with the general anti-imperialist slogans, can assure a consistent and effective mobilization of the masses for the popular anti-imperialist front, and for struggle.

The path to the united front, to the people's front, is not easy in our countries. The most reactionary elements of national-reformism find the most varied pretexts against the demands for the united front by the masses under their influence. For example, Grau's party has answered its lower committees which have raised the demands for the united front with the Communists, that there is no necessity for such a united front, that if the Communists wish, they may enter the party which has the program of the Cuban people. To the demands of the same lower committees for a united front with Young Cuba he answered that this should not be done because in the leadership of Young Cuba there are Trotskyite elements, and therefore this would bring about the hate of the Communists. But the most widespread argument in their propaganda is that this is only a Communist maneuver, that the Communists will not carry out the united front, and other arguments of this style. It is already demonstrated how the struggle of the Party, with the aid of the

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Communist International, has solved these problems of the united front. Some new questions are cropping up now, which the Party is considering, and which must be solved in the next months. One is the law of 50 per cent natives on every job, one of the cornerstones of the Grau policy. This problem will be raised before the Party for the purpose of breaking the united front. I think that our Party must fight against such proposals and struggle against the inclusion of such a slogan in the united front, fighting at the same time all discriminations against native workers: but, as a last resort, we can accept the maintenance of the Grau law "status quo", which, because of its great popularity, even the Mendieta government has not dared to revoke completely.

The raising itself of the realization of the popular anti-imperialist front, under the conditions and for the demands mentioned above, already brings up the question of the popular anti-imperialist government resulting from the development of powerful mass struggles. Our Party must fight for the establishment of this government, must be ready to support it and to participate in it, on the basis of the fulfillment of the demands of the united front. The popular revolutionary government must be formed on the basis of this platform, on the basis of the slogans of a national character, on the struggle against the terror, for popular liberties, and at the same time, on the basis of the most burning partial demands of the workers, peasants, students, artisans, small merchants, etc. It will not be as yet the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. It will be a bourgeois-democratic government, anti-imperialist par excellence.

The Party, in participating in this government, must use all of its forces to assure a real independence and economic and political freedom for Cuba, and to prepare and facilitate the path of development of the agrarian revolution, by proposing the arming of the popular masses, by consolidating the hegemony of the proletariat through realizing the alliance of the workers and peasants, by enlarging the Communist Party and by propagating widely among the masses the program of the Party.

We believe that the draft resolution presented here to the Congress must be enlarged on this point to present in detail the conditions for the achievement of the popular anti-imperialist front in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The draft raises the question of the people's anti-imperialist front in the colonial countries, and arising from this, the tasks of a single party, that is, the Communist Party of China, which tasks correspond to a country in which the revolution is in the Soviet stage of development. The task is not raised here of forming a popular anti-imperialist government, which corresponds in the conditions of the

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colonial countries to the task of forming popular anti-fascist governments in the capitalist countries. Such a gap in the resolution can encourage the support of the erroneous conceptions existing in many Parties in colonial countries of considering the slogan of Soviets as a slogan for immediate action in the first stage of the revolution. The resolution must be elaborated by establishing the tasks which correspond to the three types of countries to which Comrade Dimitroff referred in his report: China, Brazil, and India; it must raise at the same time the question of the national government, of the popular anti-imperialist government, and the conditions for participation of the Communists in it, a question which has not been touched in the draft resolution.

But the question of the popular anti-imperialist front in the colonial and semi-colonial countries cannot be separated from, but on the contrary, must be directly united with, the task of forging the *unity of the proletariat,* of organizing the proletariat into one trade union organization. This is very important in our countries where the trade union movement in the majority of cases is found divided and split in every manner. Therefore, this task, especially emphasized in the draft resolution and in the report of Comrade Dimitroff, is also an urgent and indispensable one for all of our Parties. The Cuban Party has been in an exceptionally advantageous position to carry out this task. But after the March strike, when some of our most important trade unions had been destroyed by the terror, when almost the whole trade union movement had been driven into the deepest illegality, when in some factories, including in Havana, military supervisors and private police were maintained to curb the workers, and when a number of the reformist unions had registered with the Secretary of Labor and led a legal existence, the conditions of the united front became particularly difficult and complicated. The reformists were not willing to form a united front with the illegal trade unions. But this is no insurmountable object when the Communists know how to work among the masses and how to raise their questions clearly before them. For example, during the last few weeks, the Mendieta-Batista government proposed a new Trade Union Law which takes away from the workers even the slightest right to organize. The illegal Regional Trade Union Federation of Havana has been able to call a legal Conference of Trade Unions where trade unions not led by Communists were represented, legal and illegal, to draft a plan of action against the proposed law. Our comrades who are working in the trade unions are learning rapidly how to deal with the representatives of the other trade unions, how to raise and develop the question of the united front. An outstanding success in this sense was our penetration, perseverance, and struggle, inside the Committee for Proletarian

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Defense, which no longer exists and to which I made previous reference. In the same manner our comrades are learning how to solve the problems of the united front and of trade union unity under the new conditions. But it is necessary that our trade unions, in line with our latest directives, above all abolish all underestimation of this important question and that they become the most ardent unifying Congress, that, at the same time, they take concrete measures to begin in practice the achievement of trade union unity on a regional scale, in the industries. The problem of the unemployed, which has an exceptional importance in Cuba, due to the fact that the majority of the proletariat is unemployed the greater part of the year owing to the cyclical character of sugar production, requires special attention on our part, and we are absolutely in agreement with the matter raised by Comrade Piatnitsky.

I want to point out now some very important questions on the problem of the anti-imperialist popular front and the general tasks of the Party. First, I want to refer to the inevitable necessity of binding the broad masses of the youth to the anti-imperialist movement, and of achieving the unity of the youth itself in the struggle against imperialism, fascism, and war. This task has been emphasized especially by Comrade Dimitroff. We are helping the Young Communist League of Cuba to organize the united front with the youth organizations, and I believe that we must dwell more on the lessons of the Congress for the achievement of unity of action of the youth, including all youth organizations which are not fascist.

We can state that in Cuba we have already made the first steps for the organization of a single Student Federation, which will take in all the students and abolish their division into several organizations, and which is an important step toward the unification of the whole youth. In Cuba the question of the formation of a broad national youth sport-cultural organization by the fusion of all the numerous mass youth organizations of this character is also raised.

The importance of the Negroes, of the oppressed Negro nationality of Cuba, is equally primary in this struggle, for it represents the sector most oppressed and exploited by imperialism, and persecuted by the campaigns of the reactionary and fascist elements of Cuba. Our Party must know how to organize the united front with their organizations on the basis of raising clear, concrete, and understandable demands which establish their economic, social, and political rights, taking advantage of the experiences (positive and negative) of the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of the Negro organized on the basis of the united front.

In regard to the importance of the work among women which the Congress points out with so much emphasis, we must state that

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in our country this work acquires exceptional importance because of the rapid entrance of woman into the political life of the country in the development of the revolution, and because of the fact that for the first time in Cuba she possesses electoral rights. The attraction of the feminine Autentica vanguard and the other women's organizations to the united front and to the struggle against imperialism, fascism, and war is a task of the highest importance and it is necessary that we give very careful attention to this work, as well as to the organization of broad masses of women for the struggle against the high cost of living.

Lastly, I wish to say a few words on the problem of fascism in Cuba and the direct link which this problem has with the struggle against imperialism and for the anti-imperialist popular front. On June 17, 1934, we, by means of a powerful general strike and mass actions against its demonstration, struck a serious blow at the fascist march organized by the A.B.C. (an organization which was national-reformist in its beginning and which subsequently underwent a process of thorough fascization in its leadership and in its membership). This marked the beginning of the crumbling of this organization, whose mass basis has been greatly reduced, and which has become converted from a mass organization to a reduced group without political importance in the country. In addition, the Spanish commercial bourgeoisie has withdrawn its support in order to give it to Batista, the head of the Army and, practically speaking, the head of the government. But the tendency to adopt fascist methods and forms in our country comes, not only from the side of the A.B.C., but is manifest especially in the latest measures of Batista, who has organized a broad military reserve including thousands of women, men, doctors, and even some backward workers, trying to form a mass movement. At the same time, he takes in his hand the reins of government more firmly each day and proposes new laws such as the one on trade unions, which, though not completely fascist, try to use the most violent forms of fascist methods. I think that it would be serious to exaggerate this danger; but it would also be serious to overlook it. Only if we examine attentively its characteristics, make-up, and path, can we give a correct estimation of the progress of fascist phenomena in Cuba. But here also I wish to point out that the most essential characteristic of the fascist groups of Cuba and those in the process of fascization, is their direct link with ruling imperialism, is the fact that they always represent the most reactionary defenders of imperialist rule in Cuba, even though they may mask it at times with demagogic anti-imperialist phrases. It is for this reason that the struggle against such groups of bodies in the process of fascization must be raised as a principal

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part of the struggle against imperialism, of the struggle for the broad anti-imperialist popular front.

I want to come now to the last question that must be raised. It deals with the tasks of the Parties of the "mother" countries with respect to the revolutionary movement in their colonies and semi-colonies. In this we have advanced much, very much; but we are far from reaching the point where our Parties of the imperialist countries understand in practice the whole importance of the national liberation movement in the oppressed countries, which Lenin emphasized so much as a factor accelerating the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries, as an important ally of the world proletarian revolution. I want to point out to the Congress the big steps our Party of the United States has taken to assist the Cuban revolution. Our great brother Party of the United States has taken the task of the defense of the Cuban revolution as one of its major tasks. A tour by a Cuban comrade throughout the country of mass meetings and assemblies organized by the Party in the main cities has just ended. Especially in San Francisco the Party formed a mass movement around the Cuban delegate. The Party of the United States is helping us decisively in the formation of trained cadres for the Party, and recently the Central Committee held important discussions on the Cuban situation. The campaign carried out in the United States in connection with the barbarous assassination of the anti-imperialist leaders Guiteras and Aponte was outstanding, as well as the active participation in the work of saving the prisoners of Morrillo, of Yayo Galvez and others, whom the Mendieta-Batista government had hoped to kill. Recently our Party in the United States was able to enlist influential intellectuals as well as representatives of some sections of the American Federation of Labor and other important organizations, for a commission to investigate the situation in Cuba, which was imprisoned and deported by the Mendieta government. The Communist Party of the United States is demonstrating with its activity that it is a firm supporter and defender of the heroic struggle of the Cuban people for its freedom and independence.

But we are not yet in a position to declare that this support is satisfactory in the aspect of the mobilization of large masses of American toilers in support of the Cuban revolution. Our Party must help it to obtain this mobilization.

But with respect to other countries, we did not do so well. I was in the United States in the days of the brave and heroic, although desperate, insurrection of the Sakdalistes in the Philippines, and I must state that the mobilization of the masses in the United States in favor of the Philippine fighters was nought. This is because the American Party did not understand the enormous importance that

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large-scale actions of the proletariat in the United States against the frightful butchery carried out in the Philippines would have had, not only in the Philippines, but also in Cuba and the colonial world, to convince the masses that they have an ally against the barbarism of Yankee imperialism. The question of support to the national liberation struggle of the colonies must be included in the resolution as part of the tasks of the Communist Parties in the struggle against fascism. We remind you that the Cuban revolution depends, more than that of any other country, on the support of the international proletariat, and we want to emphasize this requirement of the brother Parties. Cuba is a small country; but its revolution draws the attention of millions of the exploited of Latin America, who will greet it as their revolution, as an emancipating revolution from the fierce yoke of Yankee imperialism. The Cuban revolution has repercussions, not only in South and Caribbean America, but it also has great influence on the Negroes in the United States, who watch it with great love. We are helping in the revolutionization of the masses of a whole continent; the Cuban revolution must be considered as a part of the international proletarian revolution, as a part of the struggle for Soviets throughout the whole world.

Our Party will be able to organize the anti-imperialist popular front, to unite the whole people for the defense of the fatherland against imperialist oppression and exploitation, for the overthrow of the Mendieta-Batista government of national betrayal and shame, mockers of the original cause for the struggle against the ferocious Machado tyranny, mockers of the great national desires for independence and freedom, betrayers of the labor of Marti and Maceo, betrayers of the task bequeathed us by the Cuban fighters of the Revolution against Spanish colonial exploitation.

Our Party will be able to fulfil the tasks raised by the Congress, to organize the anti-imperialist popular front, to carry forward the revolution, with the help and guidance of the Communist International, in the light of the teachings of our dear leader, the great chief of the world revolution, Comrade Stalin.

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The Next Steps in Alabama and the Lower South

By NAT ROSS

THE resolution adopted at the Convention of District 17 of the Communist Party, in March, 1934, stated:

> "The basis of southern economy is a backward semi-feudal agriculture, mainly expressed in the sharecropping system, which is a hangover from chattel slavery. . . . The crisis in agriculture is of long standing, beginning after the World War. It is sharpened by the fact that the main crop, cotton, is chiefly an export crop, and that the usual export market is being shattered. . . . The long standing cotton crisis has helped to weaken the position of southern industry, which in turn intensifies the cotton crisis."

A brief examination of some relevant facts will indicate how correct this statement was as a summing up and a perspective.

THE AGRARIAN CRISIS IN COTTON

Recently many writers and authorities of the most diverse shades of opinion, in the South and the North, have described the extreme misery of the Negro and white cotton farming masses. For example, John Temple Graves, in the *Birmingham Age-Herald*, says:

> "Conditions among the sharecroppers and tenant farmers today are intolerable and are growing worse. There can be no economic, social, or even physical health for us here unless this impurity in the very blood stream of the South is purged."

Mary Connor Myers, in her official (but suppressed) report for the A.A.A., states that many croppers and tenants are being set adrift from the land (it is estimated that 250,000 have been evicted in the two years of the A.A.A.) and resemble "refugees fleeing wartime Belgium".

A similar picture of misery and poverty is given by the May bulletin of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, by Raymond Daniell in the *New York Times*, by Norman Thomas, Erskine Caldwell and others. In their *Washington Merry-Go-Round* column, on May 6, Pearson and Allen sum up the situation politically:

> "Without exception, no problem facing the administration right now is so worrying as that which grips the stronghold of the

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> Democratic Party. That problem is King Cotton. . . . What the South is up against is slow starvation or sudden death."

An important report on the cotton South is the recent Rosenwald report, which points out that whereas in 1930, 42 per cent of the farmers of the United States were tenants, in the South (13 States) 58 per cent were tenants. The report further states that 71 per cent of the *cotton* farmers in the South were tenants and that in sections of the Black Belt tenancy runs above 80 per cent. In 1930 there were 1,091,934 white and 698,893 Negro tenants in the South. Since 1920 there has been an increase of 200,000 white tenants, mainly as a result of foreclosures and farm sales, and a decrease of 2,000 Negro tenants. The report further states that only government relief, amounting to $212,000,000 in 1934, prevented wholesale starvation and rioting among Negro and white farmers.

A word of explanation on these figures is necessary. In the first place, the figures are for 13 States, including the Southwest and "border States", which explains the high proportion of white tenants relative to Negro tenants. More important is the fact that Negro tenancy did not increase during this period. For, by 1920, there was only a small number of Negro farm owners, and a portion of these were able to maintain their farms by working the entire family and living on a pellagra diet. Further, in the period, 1920-25, groups of Negro tenants and croppers were still leaving the cotton fields for Southern and Northern cities. And, finally, the tendency began, toward the end of the twenties, of turning Negro tenants and croppers into day laborers on the big cotton plantations.

The Rosenwald report correctly emphasizes the extreme poverty among the white farming masses. However, in order to give a correct picture, it is necessary to point out (a fact that is deliberately glossed over in the newspapers and other comments and summaries of the Rosenwald report), that the poverty and misery of the Negro masses in the cotton fields are even worse than those of the whites; that the tendency of the A.A.A. is to help the landlords and capitalists drive the standards of the Negroes (particularly the Negro tenants, croppers and day laborers in the Black Belt, who form the overwhelming majority of the toiling population), to an even lower level, in order to extract super-profits and, at the same time, to bring the masses of whites in the cotton fields as near as possible to the Negro level of starvation. Therefore, at the bottom of the present poverty of almost the entire mass of Negro and white farm and factory toilers in the South is the main economic hangover of chattel slavery—the share-cropping system (particularly in the Black Belt), and its peculiar national oppression and persecution of the Negro people. This correct position is taken by the well-known Southern cotton authority, P. Molyneaux, who says:

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> "The most obvious heritage of the slavery system is the Negro himself. The so-called poor white is also the heritage of that system. But the most characteristic thing about the cotton South's economy today is its colored character."

Taking ten cotton States as a basis to explain this point, Molyneaux shows that there were, in 1930, 390,000 Negro and 338,000 white croppers. Further figures show that the average acreage per Negro farm is 42, compared with 140 for those of white farmers. While Negroes operate 31 per cent of the farms in the South, they only cultivate 12 per cent of the total acreage.

INDUSTRY IN ALABAMA

Recent figures show that the average wage in manufacturing in Alabama, in December, 1931, was $13.39, and in December, 1934, $13.43. This shows that while the nominal wage remained about the same during the life of the N.R.A., the actual wage, owing to the increased cost of living, was sharply reduced. (The only exception was the wage of the Alabama coal miner, which was increased, mainly as a result of strike struggles.) The total wages paid by manufacturing in Alabama declined 52.95 per cent in 1933, compared with the average of the years 1925-27-29. For the same period, the decline for the United States, as a whole, was 52.46 per cent. During this period value added by manufacture declined 52.6 per cent in Alabama, and 49.43 per cent for the United States. The reduction of wages in Alabama in 1933 (based on the 1925-27-29 average), was 71.12 per cent in the coke-oven products industry, and 83.02 per cent in blast-furnace products. The average reduction in seven other States during this period was only 58.9 per cent in coke-oven products, and 72.7 per cent in blast-furnace products. The decrease in wages paid by manufacturing in Alabama in 1933 was 52.5 per cent compared to 1929. In Jefferson County—the center of the steel, coal, and iron industry—the decrease was 64.4 per cent. If we take the five-year average, 1926-30, we find that the production of coal amounted to 18,381,000 tons, compared to 9,452,000 in 1934.

To sum up, we find, first, that industry as a whole in Alabama and the South generally has been worse hit in recent years than in the rest of the country. The only exception to this is the textile industry. But here, too, there is the beginning of an absolute worsening of the position of Southern textiles, since the beginning of 1935, due to the decrease of domestic consumption, the sharper competition from New England textiles, the cutting down of textile exports, and the increase in imports growing out of the processing tax and the resulting higher prices. Secondly, we find that the capitalists in the South are driving toward an even sharper attack on the living

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standards of the workers. The N.R.A. at its inception legalized lower wages for Southern workers. Here it is necessary to add that while there was opposition to certain features of the N.R.A. from a section of Southern finance capital linked up with the Liberty League, and from a section of small and medium local Southern capital, the overwhelming majority of Southern capitalists heartily supported Roosevelt's N.R.A. This is indicated in a recent statement of Darius Thomas, Alabama coal operator, and one of the outstanding representatives of Southern capital, who said:

> "I think I can speak for the majority of the Alabama coal operators with the declaration that we are disappointed with the collapse of the N.R.A. We had made specific gains and the N.R.A. had acted as a valuable stabilizing influence."

While Mr. Thomas' "disappointment" at the scrapping of the N.R.A. is caused by his fear of a general coal strike, the capitalists in the South, in the main, accepted the Supreme Court decision scrapping the N.R.A. which had outlived its usefulness, as an opportunity to make a further attack on the conditions of the workers. This drive is already under way in innumerable factories in the South, and the drive was given encouragement by the $19 minimum monthly pay scale set by Roosevelt just prior to the Supreme Court decision. Last winter, J. H. F. Ames, a leading Alabama textile manufacturer, declared that the weekly wages for Southern workers should be $9.50 for men, $8 for women, and $6 for boys and girls. The struggle to widen the N.R.A. wage differential by Southern capitalists was in line with this view, and the recent wave of wage cuts and lengthening of hours following the N.R.A. decision indicates that Southern capital is moving (and is compelled to move to maintain and increase its profits), to the level set by Mr. Ames' and Roosevelt's relief pay scale.

THE SITUATION IN THE ALABAMA TRADE UNIONS

In this situation, the most significant positive factors were the growth of trade unions, of the sharecroppers' organizations, and of the Communist Party; and the strikes and struggles led by these organizations. In this development the outstanding element was the increasing and broadening unity and solidarity of the white and Negro toiling masses. In Alabama there are more than 136,000 white and Negro members in the A. F. of L. unions. There is a growth of militancy among large sections of the trade union membership and lower and secondary officials, who are clamoring for united action against the capitalist attacks let loose following the N.R.A. decision. However, the top officialdom maintains its reactionary policies, although it is compelled now and then to make

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militant speeches. For example, V. C. Finch, State leader of the A. F. of L., who at one time said that the biggest job of the union leaders is "to prevent strikes", also declared:

> "The only material gains made by labor during the past two years have been made through the strength of unionism. This could have been done about as well without the N.R.A."

The top officials of the A. F. of L. are afraid of the growing Communist influence in the unions, and continue a constant barrage against the Communist Party. At the District Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, held in Birmingham this spring, the Red scare was raised as a central point, and William Raney went so far as to say that "capitalistic money was behind certain Communist activities".

During the laundry strike this spring the Communist Party appealed to all union workers to join the picket lines to help win the strike. Through the leadership of rank-and-file miners, and against the will of the District leadership, a number of locals of the U.M.W.A. decided to march into the downtown areas on April 12 and join the picket lines. This act of solidarity was broken up by 100 policemen and deputies armed with machine guns. It is also necessary to note that a number of A. F. of L. officials who have bitterly fought the Communists, and, in fact, helped the police arrest Communists, were among those who joined in a mass meeting called by the Birmingham Trades Council to protest against the police brutality in the laundry strike. As a result of the lessons of the general strikes in coal and ore mining last spring, a movement for union solidarity among the captive miners and steel workers developed, especially in the Republic, Sloss and Woodward companies. But this movement had to be built by the rank and file and local leaders secretly, in order to beat back the opposition of the top officials of the miners' unions.

Our Party exerts great influence among a large section of the trade union masses, including a number of local officials. A few incidents will indicate this fact. The president of a steel local stated to a group of union members: "What we have in Birmingham today, unions, unity, and other good things, we owe a great deal to the Communists". The president (white) of a large U.M.W.A. local, in discussing the struggles of the Communist Party for equal rights for Negroes, declared: "The Negroes are the best people on earth. They are the fightenest, stickinest people, yet they are the worst treated people I know". Even more eloquent testimony than these moving remarks is the recent development of the Bessemer unemployed local of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, with a membership of 1,500.

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Last fall the Communist candidate for governor of Alabama, John Davis, was expelled from the union by the bureaucrats. This created dissatisfaction in the local because Davis was considered by the rank and file as one of their best leaders, and in May, he was reinstated by the membership *unanimously*, after publicly reaffirming his faith in the Communist Party and its role in the trade unions.

Despite this influence in the trade unions and the increase of union members in the Party, we can still say that we have no solidly organized movement in the locals and in the trades councils, and that fractions do not function. What is the reason for this weak organizational position of the Party in such a favorable situations? Basically we must say that the District Bureau has so far failed to carry out consistently the main instructions of the *Open Letter*, which were made even more specific in the fundamental letter from the Central Committee of January 12, 1934, which said:

> "Because there is a large organized mass peasant movement which looks for guidance to the Party, because the main vital roots of the organized struggle for the right of self determination are found in the peasant mass of Negroes in District 17, precisely for these reasons it is all the more extremely and urgently necessary to build the Communist Pary in District 17 in the most solid positions in the basic industries."

THE COTTON CHOPPERS' STRIKE IN ALABAMA

Let us briefly review some important struggles led by the Share-Croppers' Union. The Union was organized in 1931. In that year the first struggle between the landlords and croppers took place in Camp Hill, around the issue of the right to organize. In 1932 the Reeltown struggle against the confiscation of live stock developed. In 1933 the union developed a number of struggles for the right to sell cotton. In 1934 there took place the beginnings of struggles against the Bankhead gin tax, and the small but historic cotton pickers' strike. In 1935, the most important struggle to date—the cotton choppers' strike—took place. The union was able to win concessions and victories in each of these struggles. It grew stronger as it drew lessons from the struggles and as large numbers joined its ranks, and the best fighters in the union became members of the Party. In discussing the recent choppers' strike, the District resolution (June, 1935) states:

> "The main demand was for $1 a day for a ten-hour day. The strike took place in seven counties, namely, Tallapoosa, Chambers, Lee, Randolph, Montgomery, Loundes, and Dallas. Throughout the Alabama fields about 35 plantations were hit by the strike. Whereas last year the average pay was 50 cents a day, the union was able to win $1 a day on most of these plantations, and 75 cents a day

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> on a few of them. The wage demands were won by about 1,500 cotton choppers, who included both white and Negro poor farmers, tenants, croppers and farm hands. . . . The solidarity and unity of the white and Negro strikers stands out as one of the high points of the whole strike. It is a clear fact that the main reason for the success of the strike, particularly in the Tallapoosa area, was the leadership given the strike by the Communist Party Section."

After discussing the weaknesses of the strike, the resolution goes on to discuss the next step:

> "The central point is mass preparations for the coming cotton pickers' strike. The preparation for the pickers' strike must be carried out on the basis of developing the united front. This means the continuation and broadening of the friendly relations with the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, and the beginning of negotiations with the Alabama Farmers Union. This can be done mainly by the locals building the united front among the masses in the cotton fields, in the churches and other organizations. . . . It is necessary to establish close connections with the A. F. of L. unions in the small cities and towns. Along with the strike preparations must go the fight for a mass boycott movement against payment of the Bankhead gin tax."

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITED FRONT

Our District has made some progress in the struggle for the united front, but as yet we have only begun to scratch the surface. The united front document drawn up in Chattanooga, on December 6, 1934, by a number of leaders of the Socialist Party in the South, and a representative of the Communist Party, has served as a stimulus for our recent united front activities. As a result of the December 6 meeting, plans were made to hold an all-Southern conference for civil and trade union rights in Chattanooga in May. The conference was supported by a large number of varied organizations, including Commonwealth Labor College, Highlander Folk School, Southern Tenant Farmers Union, Share Croppers' Union, the Younger Churchmen of the South, and a number of writers, educators, and students. There was also support from a number of American Federation of Labor unions and representatives from trades councils, and support from the American Workers Union, from the National Asociation for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, Civil Liberties Union, the International Labor Defense, and American League Against War and Fascism. Despite the terror, the conference was carried through and showed the possibility and need of continued friendly relationship between Communists and Socialists in order to stimulate the united front and to stress the need for continuing and broadening the specific united front struggle for civil rights. This meeting also helped to develop united front relations between the Share-Croppers' Union with its main center in Alabama and the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, with its main center in Arkansas. Already both

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unions have joined together in the struggle against the A.A.A., have supported each other in their separate struggles, and, according to the most recent developments, are on their way to cementing a common front for the impending struggles this fall, for the right of tenants and croppers to sell their own cotton, against the payment of the Bankhead gin tax, and for a cotton pickers' strike. The successful development of the united front can lay the basis for a conference to organize a Southern federation of toiling farmers' organizations, centered around the S.C.U., the S.T.F.U., the Alabama Farmers' Union, and other mass organizations of farmers and farm workers. Certainly, this will prove a mighty weapon in the cotton fields, and will be a confirmation of the need for furthering the united front of struggle everywhere among the Southern masses.

The main weakness of the united front activity in our District has been the failure to make the lower organizations of the Party centers of united front struggles in their neighborhoods, shops, etc. The recent meeting of the District Committee took steps to change this situation, at the same time, making a more intensive effort for united front actions in the trade unions, for the building up of a genuine Labor Party. The struggle for a labor party in the lower South becomes all the more urgent as large sections of the voters draw away from the ruling party in the South, the Democratic Party. At the same time the vast majority of the working masses do not vote, and there is an increasing demand for the right to vote. In Alabama less than 10 per cent of the total population, and less than 1 per cent of the Negro population are listed as qualified voters. Along with a program of immediate needs, which must form a basis for a Labor Party in the South, must go the struggle for the right to vote, for the abolition of the poll tax, and the struggle against discrimination of Negroes in the exercise of the franchise. The struggle for the united front and the Labor Party form, also, the necessary basis for the fight against social reformism, the increasing demagogy of Long, Bilbo, Talmadge, and the Negro reformists, as well as the struggle against the rapid fascist development in the Lower South. In a number of trade unions in our District the workers have discussed favorably the need for a Labor Party. The recent resolution favoring the Labor Party which is being circulated in the unions in Alabama by the rank and file committee, will no doubt increase the discussion and agitation for a Labor Party. In a few key cities in Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia, where the situation for a Labor Party is ripening, it is necessary to form broad committees of trade union elements primarily, whose function will be to prepare and pave the way for building a mass Labor Party movement in these cities which can serve as a stimulus and guide for the coming local, State, and national campaign in the South.

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THE NEGRO QUESTION AND THE TRADE UNIONS IN ALABAMA

It is an acknowledged fact that our Party has carried out significant and historic struggles against Negro oppression. However, one major weakness in our District in these struggles is our inability to raise this question decisively in the trade unions, especially to influence the white workers to join *together* with the Negroes in these struggles. The trade union masses today see the need for unity of black and white in order to improve their economic conditions. During the strike wave of last spring, our Party was able to impress the masses of strikers in Birmingham with the fact that the N.R.A. wage differential for Southern workers was the result of the general low wage given to Negroes, which was passed on to the masses of white workers. But this is not sufficient. In every economic action in the mills, in every discussion in the unions, in every strike, and in connection with our struggle for equal pay, equal jobs, and equal rights for Negroes, the duty of the Communists is to show concretely and simply by actual example—and there are many—how the national oppression of the Negroes is maintained by the whole Jim-Crow system in order to starve the Negroes, and at the same time to bring the main mass of white workers as close as possible to this starvation level. Furthermore, our duty is to show concretely and convincingly how every reactionary and fascist political move (sedition bill, Scottsboro prosecution, etc.), which is carried out by the ruling class today behind the slogans of "Keep the Negroes Down", and "White Supremacy", is meant to enrich a small number of white moneybags. And at the same time these moves serve not only to enslave and to keep the Negroes down, but also to enslave further the main mass of white workers, whose few remaining political, civil and trade union rights are being taken away for the purpose of bringing their wages down near the low level of the Negro workers. In this way we can show the white workers that it is in their *own* immediate interests to fight against not only the economic but the political and social oppression of Negroes. This will at the same time break down the distrust among the Negroes toward the whites, and cement and strengthen the firm unity of the trade union masses and their fighting capacity.

Above all, in order to develop the daily struggles, in order to give revolutionary guidance to the struggle for the right to self-determination, it is necessary to promote the leading role of the proletariat, which for us, in District 17, means especially a task which still remains to be carried out: "the building of the Communist Party in the shops, in the first place, in the steel, coal, machine, chemical and railroad shops, mills and mines of the Birmingham section". (C.C. Letter to District 17, January, 1934.)

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